


IN THESE TIMES

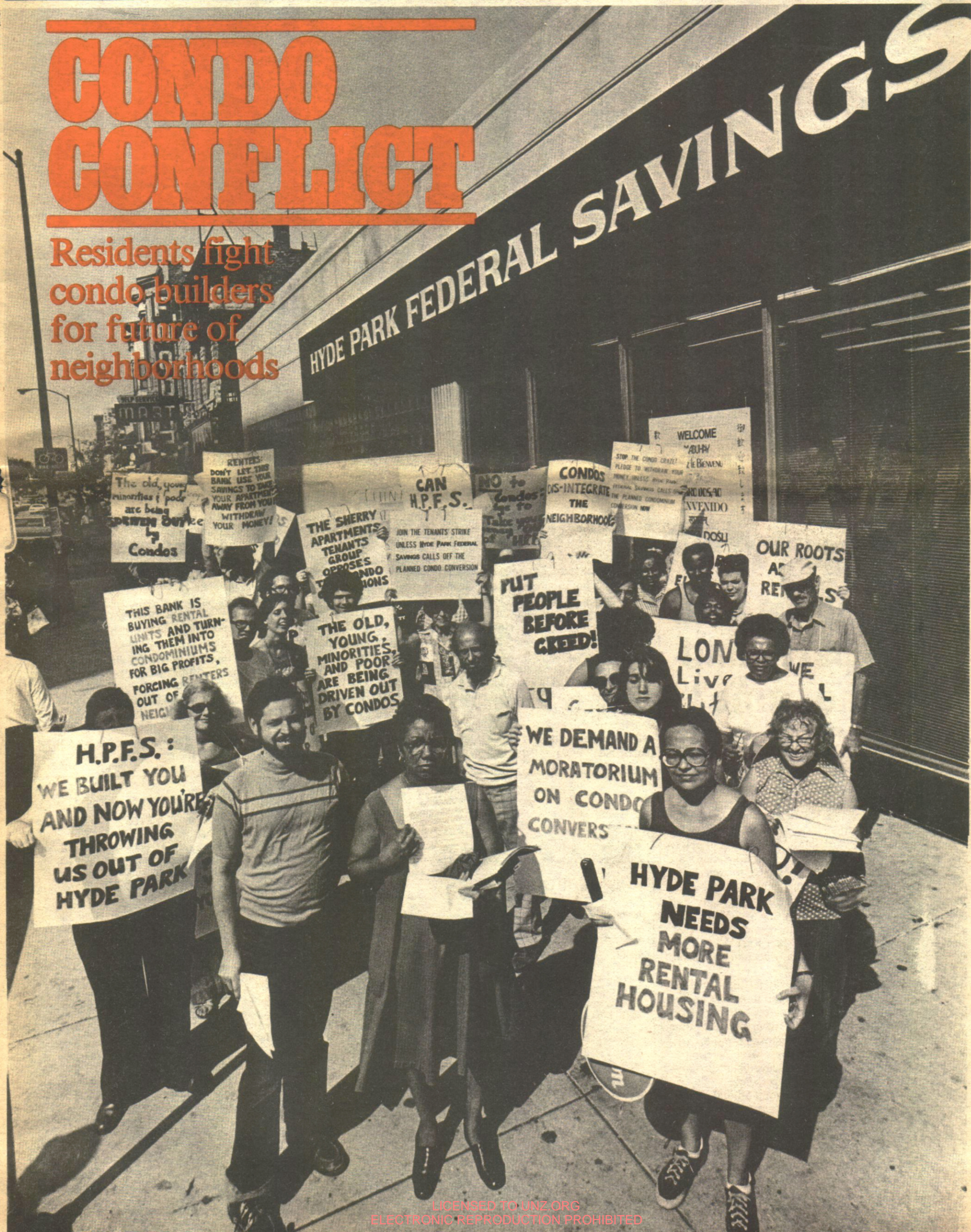
BASEBALL COMEBACKS
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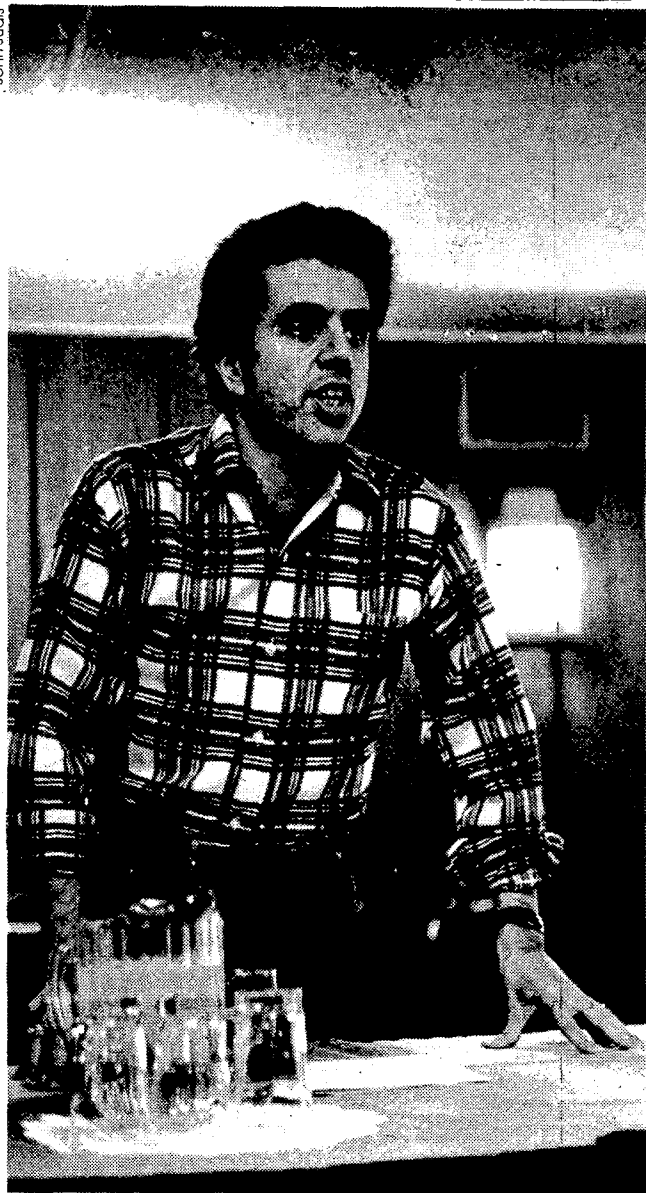
CONDO CONFLICT

Residents fight
condo builders
for future of
neighborhoods



THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Hartford city councilman Nick Carbone.

What if we held a tea party and no one came?

American leftists have laid claim to certain tax issues, like the need for a progressive income tax, but they have little ground for saying, as some do, that conservatives stole the tax issue out from under them. Tax and spending cuts have been traditional small business issues. They assume the laissez-faire capitalist view of government as a necessary evil, whose excesses must be curbed lest they inhibit economic growth.

In this respect, Howard Jarvis' lineage goes back to well before left-wing tax reformers, and his views are a good deal more familiar and acceptable to Americans. The Jarvisses were always around, and when the economic squeeze of the '70s hit home, they were ready with their traditional remedies.

The left has largely been confined to defensive measures. As AFSCME tax revolt expert Karl Wagger put it, "The progressives have generally been in a reactionary position."

Last weekend, as the Senate was putting the final touches to the most regressive tax bill in American history and as right-wing tax activists were gathering their forces for November initiative contests in 17 states, some 150 union staffers, community organizers, public officials and professional tax reformers were meeting at Washington's International Inn to develop a "progressive agenda" on state and local tax reform.

The Oct. 6-8 meeting was the second annual conference sponsored jointly by Ralph Nader's Tax Reform Research Group and the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies.

The large attendance of union people, who were mostly absent from last year's event, again foreshadowed a new coalition between labor and the descendants

of the '60s. But the conference did not develop an agenda for this coalition. Instead, it showed some of the profound handicaps under which left-wing tax reformers operate.

Targeting big business.

Tax reformers believe that taxes should be based on ability to pay and that, therefore, the rich and the corporations should shoulder most of the tax burden. But, as has happened with Carter's tax reform proposals, the corporate rich have often been able to use their power over investment decisions to resist any tax measures that would reduce their income.

On a state and local level, that power is enlarged by a corporation's ability to get up and go to another state if it doesn't approve of its tax bill. This threat has stymied tax reform efforts, and during the conference's workshops, it kept intruding upon radical proposals.

At a discussion of legislative strategy, Washington tax consultant Jim Rosapepe said the opponents of Proposition 13 had failed because they were allied with business. Tax reformers must show that their proposals shift the tax burden from people onto business and that the Proposition 13s do the opposite.

But Massachusetts State Senator Jack Backman disagreed. "You say that all you have to say is that business is going to gain and that solves the problem," Backman began. "Well let me tell you: In the northern industrial states, people want to help big business. People want to support programs that help big business, because they are afraid they'll go down south."

"I think that's more a political perception than a public perception," Rosapepe replied. "It's not there, even in the Northeast."

Rosapepe also explained how state and local taxes took at most 3 percent out of a corporation's operating budget. "It's highly unlikely that state and local taxes have much to do with location decisions," he said.

California tax reformer Dean Tipps, who had earlier advised the conference that they had to be "more radical," also leapt to Rosapepe's defense. "The problem is right-to-work laws, not taxes," Tipps said in explaining corporate flight to the South.

Hartford city councilman Nick Carbone added that there were businesses that couldn't move south, like banks, insurance companies, and distribution plants. They were vulnerable to tax reform.

But Jack Gordon, who chairs the Florida Senate's Ways and Means Committee, disagreed with Carbone. "Nothing is going to stop Aetna from moving South," he said.

Just an organizing strategy.

The same debate, in slightly different terms, broke out in the workshop on corporate tax abatements. (An abatement is a special tax break.)

Ed Kelly of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC) was one of the main workshop speakers. OPIC was formed to fight runaway shops, but recently it has taken on corporate tax abatements, especially in Cleveland. Kelly argued that these abatements bore little relevance to corporate decisions to relocate their plants. If anything, a corporation would rather locate in an area with higher taxes and good schools than in one with special abatements but lousy schools.

Dale Belmon from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers contested Kelly's logic. Belmon argued that corporations do consider lower taxes important. According to Belmon, a city or state's willingness to give tax breaks indicates, if nothing else, a willingness to defend corporate prerogatives and would make a difference in location decisions.

Belmon also cast doubt on statewide tax reform itself. "I have real doubts about doing this on a state-by-state basis," he said. "By the 1920s, states became out-

dated as units." He pointed to the struggle for child labor laws as a case in point. It was only possible to win on a national level.

"To run the whole scenario again doesn't make sense," he concluded, "unless it is just an organizing strategy."

Kelly responded, as Rosapepe had, by arguing that wage rates and right-to-work laws, not tax breaks, are the main reason for corporations going south. When he had said that education was more important than tax abatements, he was referring primarily to a situation where a corporation was deciding between two rival cities with union labor, like Cleveland and Detroit. In this case as well, tax abatements would not be important.

But then he went on to acknowledge, even if not explicitly, Belmon's final point. "The problem is how to build a political coalition [on tax reform or runaway shops] that is strong enough to fight on a national level. Given the present political climate, you have to start on a local level."

An end run.

Many of the conference participants shared Kelly's attitude toward politics. Most were either socialists, or occupied that grey area between socialism and a utopian capitalism. In the face of the Jarvisses, they have concentrated on winning piecemeal local reforms or on defeating pro-business measures.

In a major conference speech, Massachusetts Fair Share's Michael Ansara ended with a ringing call to "meet the corporate challenge head on." But later, in the workshop debate between Rosapepe and Massachusetts senator Backman, Ansara's comrade at Fair Share, Miles Rappaport, jumped to Backman's defense.

Fair Share had discovered, Rappaport explained, that "you have to identify [as an enemy] more than big business." Rappaport described how, instead of taking on big business as a whole, it had concentrated on "corporate tax-dodgers"—Boston corporations that owed the city large amounts of back taxes. They didn't even begin their campaign with a large Boston business; instead, they chose a highly visible and vulnerable restaurant frequented by local politicians.

One workshop participant described this approach as making an "end run around corporate power."

This fall, Fair Share and Massachusetts unions have been forced to fight for an initiative that would retain the local practice of assessing commercial property at a higher standard than residential property. If they win, the already-inequitable property tax system will remain intact. If they lose, residential tax rates will rise some \$265 million.

Taking the offensive.

This disparity between long-range goals and the immediate situation of the left affected the conference's concluding speech by Illinois Public Action Council (IPAC) director Robert Creamer. Creamer, who has the manner and the enthusiasm of a country preacher, attempted to infuse the proceedings with a spirit of optimism.

He said that the left had to stop offering "half-a-loaf, Johnny-come-lately programs" in response to the right. It had to "take the offensive."

"I view taxes as a left-wing issue," he explained.

But Creamer's recounting of IPAC's relatively impressive experience still left little room for optimism. They did succeed in getting a progressive property tax reform through the Illinois state legislature, but as happened in Massachusetts, the governor vetoed it. Gov. James Thompson then offered a spending limitation of his own, which will probably pass in November and open the door to conservative budget-cutting efforts.

IPAC did succeed in embarrassing the governor, but now they have been reduced to watching his tax dance while they figure out what their next step is. ■

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GREENSFELDER '78

By Anne B. Zill

WASHINGTON

NOW THAT THE LATEST SKIRMISH in the battle for women's equality has been won, these guerrilla fighters—in and out of government—are assessing anew both the short and long-term implications of the passage of H.J. 638.

With the 60-to-36 vote in the U.S. Senate on Oct. 5 to extend the state ratification period for the Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution until June 30, 1982, people favoring ERA are of two minds.

"The passage of this extension Resolution will go down in history as the grossest political misjudgment of all time," declared one staff counsel on Capitol Hill (who thought names were best eliminated from discussion). On the other side, Marie Bass of ERAmerica, a three-year-old public education effort on the issue, said it was the first time that champagne bottles got uncorked in the history of her organization. "Lady Luck seemed to go our way for a change."

The assessment of the majority of women in activist, pro-ERA roles is that this extension vote offered a clear message from Congress and the American people that ERA supporters are simply not going to let this effort die. But there have been rumblings from constitutional experts and feminist theorists that this particular piece of legislation was a step backward given the real needs of the women's movement at this historical juncture.

While jubilant victors with large white ERA NOW banners were shouting in front of the Senate side of the Capitol that extension marked the turning point in the struggle for ERA as well as the political maturing of the women's movement, others were quietly pointing out the inevitability of court battles all the way to the Supreme Court.

"Here is an example," Carol Burris, president of the Women's Lobby, said, "of a failure on the part of women to

ERA wins on Hill States to test bill in clash of wills

perceive and grapple with their real needs now—for equal pay, social security and welfare benefits, etc. which ERA ratification won't bring." Burris, who was one of the principal lobbyists for the original ERA constitutional amendment in the Congress seven years ago, and who reluctantly supports the extension effort herself, is nevertheless concerned about the enormous number of dollars slipping away over the next three and a half years from needed programs for women and into the protracted process of ratification in recalcitrant state legislatures. "Perhaps," mused another nameless feminist, "our society's cultural development leads not only the Congress but the women's movement as well to fail to perceive the extent to which the symbolic import of equal rights is already taken for granted while substantive gain possibilities are ignored."

"Instead of focusing on one bill that raises the specter of unisex bathrooms, we could be passing some legislation to give women real clout in the world." She acknowledges, however, that going public with this message is calling into question the whole value of ERA in 1978, and raises her arms in frustration.

The legal and constitutional questions were more comfortable grounds for congressional activists. Last week saw an Adlai Stevenson (D-IL) amendment (prior to the Senate passage) that would have had the U.S. Congress express no opinion with respect to the effect of any rescinding effort on the part of state legislatures. While it lost 94-to-4 because Birch Bayh's

forces had convinced a majority that a "no amendment" policy was key to extension passage, Stevenson's proposal marked the muted concern of constitutional experts for the resolution's legality.

That legality is questioned on several grounds: first, it is a House Joint Resolution and not exactly a traditional "law" but rather (since it does not get signed by the President) a "sense of the Congress" document without any clear binding legislative authority. Then there is also the matter of its passage by a simple majority of both Houses instead of the two-thirds majority required for constitutional amendments, a fact that makes the extension resolution ripe for court challenge by opponents.

But the major challenge, which promises to go all the way to the Supreme Court, is due on the question of a state's right to rescind its ratification of ERA. "That was the tough political issue," said Barbara Dixon of Bayh's staff. Four states (Idaho, Kentucky, Nebraska and Tennessee) have already done so, making the Garn amendment to allow rescission by states any time after the extension resolution became effective the significant vote in the Senate last week.

Until the night before the vote," reported Dixon, "we weren't sure we were going to defeat him. Why would it be fair to extend the time to say 'yes' without also extending the time to say 'no'?" Bayh had a team of 12 "friendly" senators, including Kennedy, Hatfield, Sarbanes, Leahy and Muriel Humphrey, among others, talking to the six or seven "swing"

Senators until the last moment when the vote came through 55 to 34.

One of those who swung right was Kan-easter Hodges (D-AR) who inserted into the Congressional Record, "If I thought for a minute that family life would stabilize, or religious faith would deepen, or moral standards rise or patriotism flower by defeating ERA I would join the front ranks against it. These trends, however, are the result of forces and directions unrelated to the emancipation of women. ... Suddenly as I rustled with this problem it came to me like a bolt of lightning—this is a simple matter of equality."

Dixon thinks it is unlikely that the Supreme Court will ultimately rule on the rescission question despite the new wrinkle that this resolution is a first-time extension of the ratification period for a constitutional amendment. "They learned," she argues, when they ruled on abortion and got a lot of criticism for it, "that matters of 'social policy' are not deemed within the realm of the Supreme Court's purview."

Whether or not three additional states will ratify ERA before June 30, 1982, remains an open question. Though Ellie Smeal of the National Organization for Women thinks the chances are excellent, others are more cautious. They talk instead of the momentum created by last week's vote that "give us a good shot," "that will help us unite with labor and the churches in the future," "that will keep us all working hard from now on." All the activists agree that the last minute political maneuvering required by a coalition of the AFL-CIO, NOW, NWPC, the United Methodists and Common Cause, offered testimony to the growing political sophistication of women in their ability to play hard-ball, no-compromise politics with the same fierce dedication as their toughest male counterparts. It was a demonstration of equality all right, in the arena of here-and-now politics, not the above-and-beyond. ■

Ann B. Zill is chair of the Women's Campaign Fund and executive director of the Fund for Constitutional Government in Washington, D.C.

WORK SKILLS

Future bleak for skilled workers

Throughout America the need for skilled workers is on the decline. Jobs with little skill are on the rise.

By Al Goodman

RON CHECCHI IS PART OF A national dilemma. A 34-year-old butcher at a large Safeway supermarket in San Francisco, Checchi learned his trade after years of apprenticeship to his father, Hugo. Today, Ron Checchi runs pre-cut portions of beef through a saw and reflects on all the intricate butchers' skills he knows and never uses.

"We were once judged by skills, but skills don't matter anymore," he says. "Anybody can be trained in seven or eight months to run meat through the saw."

Across town, Hugo Checchi, 61, still works behind the meat counter for a small independent grocer. And he still carves by hand, with almost surgical precision, the huge carcasses of beef that hang in the meat locker. Hugo says he's more than a butcher; he's also the "public relations man" who sells the meat to his customers.

"Less skills are required in a chain outfit," says Hugo. "They get equal pay, but they know less."

Yet most butchers, these days, are hired by chain stores, not the small independents.

Throughout America, the need for skilled workers is on the decline as jobs requiring little or no skills are on the rise. It is a result of radical and immutable changes occurring in the U.S. economy—changes which some economists and educators predict could lead to massive dissatisfaction and social upheaval across the board of the U.S. labor force.

As American industry continues to automate and export both skilled and unskilled manufacturing jobs, service sector jobs continue to expand and fill the gap. The Congressional Joint Economic Committee predicted earlier this year that by 1985, up to 80 percent of the U.S. workforce would be employed in the service sector, where skill requirements are at a minimum and there are fewer labor unions to protect wages.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that the fastest growing job slots for the years ahead will be for dental hygienists, flight attendants, computer programmers, teachers' aides and realtors—none of which requires a college education. Labor unions point to the increasing demand for secretaries and clerks "where paperwork is shuffled."

While not all service sector employment is unrewarding or underpaid, the statistics show that in general these jobs are characterized by low wages, little or no security or benefits, and little room for career advancement.

And, says Patrick Mason, research director of the California Labor Federation, "There is no incentive to stay on the job." The poor pay and lack of security or incentive has contributed to growing legions of migratory workers, drifting from one poor job to another, from one city to another, unable to put down roots or provide for a family, say economic observers.

Columbia University economist Eli Ginzberg notes that although national weekly earnings averaged \$176 in 1976, the average pay in service jobs was just \$146 and the retail average only \$114. And yet, he says, three out of four new jobs in the past 26 years have been in these categories.

The decline in skill requirements has not only hit the high-skill areas, such as butchers, tool and dye makers and other machinists. Automation has also "de-



How long will it be before they perfect an automatic pizza tosser?

skilled" jobs at the supermarket checkout counters, retail stores and large commercial chains.

Employees at some McDonald's restaurants, for example, now merely have to push cash register buttons marked not by numbers but by pictures of hamburgers or french fries or milkshakes. The machines then do all the computing and tally up the change, an arithmetical task the employee once was expected to perform.

One McDonald's manager explained that it leads to greater efficiency and service to the customer. But, says Chris Pipho, associate director of research for Denver-based Education Commission of the States, "While the manager of McDonald's might go to the Kiwanis and talk about kids not reading or writing, in practice he hasn't done much to help them use those skills."

What has happened, adds Pipho, is that America has "created a lower level of jobs where no reading or writing skills are needed."

The growth of this lower level group, in turn, is a contributing factor to the failure of schools to upgrade, or even maintain, educational achievement, some educators believe.

"In the past, it paid to do well in school to get a better job," said Henry Levin, Stanford University education and economics professor. "Today, there's the feeling that better jobs represent so few, you can't get them anyway."

"I think students are aware that college won't do what it used to do," said Rozanne Weissman, a spokeswoman for the National Education Association, the nation's second largest union, "Teachers

have been telling us about less motivated kids."

This lack of motivation—perhaps the result of the students' own awareness that most jobs are poorly paid and no longer require much in the way of skills—has produced just the sort of job seekers who fit the "lower level caste" of workers. The rate of "functional illiteracy"—not being able to read a newspaper or fill out a job application—is about 13 percent of all 17-year-old high school students (not counting the thousands who drop out annually), according to the federally financed National Assessment of Educational Progress. Functional illiteracy among blacks and Hispanics is believed to be much higher.

And, while there has been some progress made on the functional illiteracy rates, overall educational standards, as reflected by the College Entrance Examination Board, have been steadily declining. Between 1962 and 1976, average scores on the verbal portion of the Scholastic Aptitude Test have declined from 478 to 429, a 12.5 percent drop.

Motivation for education has suffered so badly that many schools are now reporting an average daily absentee rate as high as 25 percent.

Some educators are convinced that the trend in the job market away from jobs requiring skills and education has indirectly helped to lower overall educational standards by easing the pressure on the schools and on the government to improve those standards. In other words, if industry doesn't need skilled workers, why bother to produce skilled students?

"There's a total lack of coordination between schools and the job sector," said

the NEA's Weissman. "It's appalling."

Weissman's observation applied as well to the other end of the educational spectrum, those college graduates who have acquired high skills in order to find satisfying, good paying jobs.

Federal projections indicate a surplus of some 950,000 college graduates in relation to the market for graduates during the current period of 1974-85. The Joint Economic Committee labor study released this year predicts that this "clot" of highly educated graduates "will mean relatively few opportunities for new graduates through the year 2000."

Of course, what is happening is that these educated, skilled graduates are accepting jobs well below their skill levels as salesmen, secretaries and restaurant workers, creating a kind of educated proletariat. But at the same time, they are "bumping down" high school graduates and the less skilled workers who normally fill such jobs into what some economists fear will be a permanent group with virtually no prospects for advancement.

The result is a bleak picture for those at both ends, but especially for the less educated minority youths who are hit hardest by the crunch.

By the end of this century, predicts Stephen Dresch, director of the Demographic Studies Institute in Connecticut, the undermining of the "traditional mechanisms of social and economic advancement" will, if current patterns hold, lead to "fundamental and socially traumatic disruptions."

The inexorable changes now going on, he told the Joint Economic Committee, will leave "very few untouched."

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)

LABOR

Election funds Steel union's sore spot

Meg Gerken

By Alan Barnes

NEW YORK

A MOTION FOR THE DISMISSAL of the United Steel Workers' (USW) suit against nine public-interest foundations is now pending in New York's federal court. The suit, filed by the USW last spring, charges that the New York-based Association for Union Democracy (AUD), illegally used contributions from eight other tax-exempt foundations on behalf of Ed Sadlowski's campaign for union president in last year's USW election. The AUD has filed for dismissal of the suit on the grounds that only the Secretary of Labor has the right to sue, not the union. The outcome of the suit has potentially grave implications for the future of rank and file insurgency since it would undermine the ability of independent candidates to run against the union leadership.

The suit, in effect, alleges a conspiracy between the AUD and the foundations to influence the outcome of the election, a violation, it says, of Section 401(g) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (LMRDA), which prohibits "employer" contributions to union elections. The union is attempting to define the contributing foundations as "employers within the meaning of the LMRDA," contending that the AUD used their contributions solely for the purpose of electing Sadlowski.

The union also charges that the alleged federal violations resulted in additional violations of New York Common Law. The suit demands payment for "damages" and an injunction against future involvement by the foundations in USW elections.

The AUD, founded in 1969, is a non-profit organization that provides legal assistance to union members "who feel that their democratic rights have been unjustly curtailed." It publishes a newsletter, the *Union Democracy Review*, to inform both lawyers and rank and file of the far-too-frequent abuse of these rights; its latest issues have been devoted to the publication of a "guide to internal union democracy." Despite meagre resources, the AUD has managed to compile an enviable record of accomplishment in activities relating to the Teamsters, Bricklayers, Painters, Mineworkers and other unions.

AUD executive secretary Herman Benson, an ex-machinist, explained that the group intervened in the USW campaign "to help assure a fair election, not to support any candidate." He stated that the AUD became involved "after considering a long record of suspect elections in that union, culminating in a fraudulent election for director of District 31 in 1973, in which Ed Sadlowski was the independent candidate."

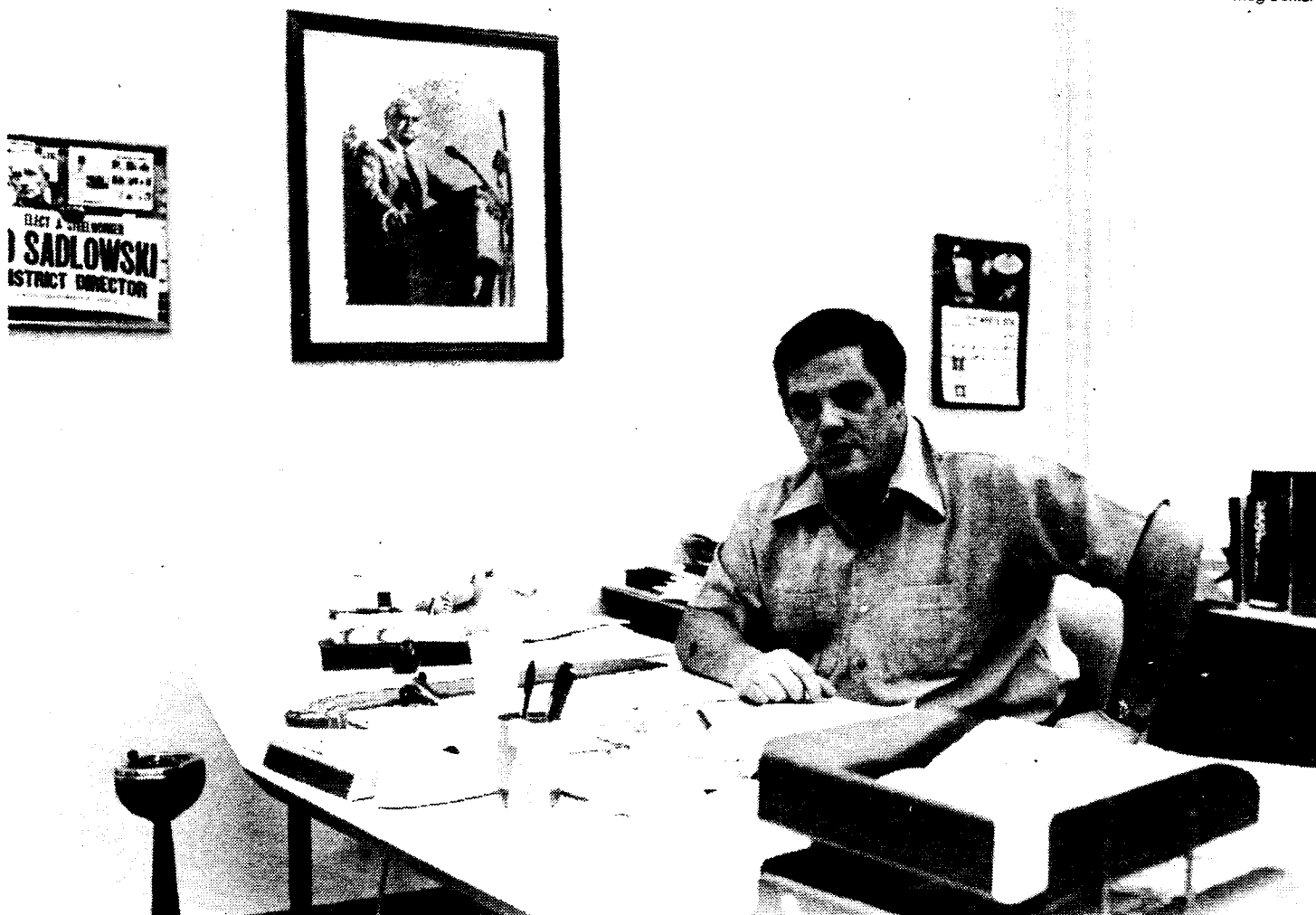
In that election, a complaint filed by Sadlowski, with AUD assistance, prompted a Labor Department investigation, and a federal court eventually ordered that the results be set aside. When the election was re-run under Department of Labor supervision, Sadlowski won by a two-to-one margin.

In the 1977 campaign, AUD's activities included legal aid for a number of federal suits filed by the Sadlowski slate to compel union compliance with various LMRDA provisions. The organization also funded an "observer project" that recruited and trained union members to oversee the casting and counting of ballots.

Benson assailed the characterization of the foundations as "employers," calling it "a transparent effort to mislead the membership (of the USW)."

As a more telling indictment, the *Wall Street Journal*, rarely considered the "voice" of labor, applauded the USW action, although it dismissed the notion of foundations-as-employers which lies at the legal heart of the Steelworkers' suit.

To Benson, this unholy alliance suggests "that officials of both union and management look upon internal union democracy as their greatest threat."



Ed Sadlowski campaigned against United Steel Worker president Lloyd McBride last year. The USW is suing the Association for Union Democracy for contributing non-union money to Sadlowski's campaign.

The AUD has joined the foundations in a motion to dismiss the suit, on the grounds that only the Secretary of Labor, not the union, has the right to sue, and that the court lacks jurisdiction unless the suit is brought by the Secretary. Furthermore, "the sole remedy for a violation of Section 401 is the invalidation of the election," the motion states, not the injunction that the union seeks.

Lloyd McBride, the victor in the Steelworkers' election, was the administration-backed candidate and is a plaintiff in this suit. So, it is not surprising that such an invalidation is not requested. But the Sadlowski camp has filed suit to force the Department of Labor to overturn the election, citing the Department's own investigation, which revealed extensive violations of LMRDA provisions benefitting the McBride slate. The Department determined, however, that these violations

did not affect the outcome of the election, a conclusion that the AUD disputes.

As for the additional USW charges, the foundations' motion for dismissal argues that as these are essentially the same as the alleged federal violations, the law forbids their separate consideration, and they too should be dismissed.

A decision on the motion is expected shortly. But while the AUD is optimistic about the prospect for a favorable ruling, it sees the suit as part of a concerted effort to intimidate both union dissidents and those outside the unions who would assist them.

An example is the recent Steelworkers' convention. There, the McBride administration was able to enact a stringent ban on all non-USW campaign contributions to candidates for international office. Such a measure would make it virtually impossible to challenge an incumbent,

who would still have the vast resources of the union machinery and the financial backing of its staff at his or her disposal.

Though this move may also fail, its chilling effect upon rank and file reformers may be felt for some time to come, just as the fear of being sued may deter their financial supporters. And, there is little doubt that officials of other unions are carefully monitoring the Steelworkers' situation with an eye to their own insurgents.

What all this may mean for the future of democratic unionism in America is, as yet, too difficult to determine, except perhaps by analogy with the past. As Herman Benson warned, "If these principles had prevailed in the Mineworkers Union, Tony Boyle would still be its president today."

Alan Barnes is a free-lance writer in New York.

Women wrest settlement from *Times*

By Barbara Garson

NEW YORK

ON FRIDAY, OCT. 6, THE *New York Times* and its women employees agreed on a plan for the paper to hire more women in almost all job categories, including a goal of four women in the top 32 management positions by 1982.

The settlement also distributes \$233,500 in back pay among 550 women employees. By a decision of the women most actively involved, the money will be allocated strictly according to length of service at the *Times*. Women who have worked more than 20 years will receive a \$1000 annuity. Women who have worked less than five years will receive \$100 each. In similar cases higher paid women have generally received the higher settlements. The *Times* women rejected this notion.

The *Times* suit arose out of meetings that started in 1972 in both the editorial and classified departments. After finding each other, and after negotiating with management pleasantly but fruitlessly for two years, the women filed suit in 1974.

In the classified section there are about 70 ad takers and, one step above them, about 60 telephone solicitors. The women objected that few ever rose from their ranks to the higher paid and much less

tedious position of outside salesman.

Benilda Rosario started as an ad taker in 1972 when she had 16 credits to complete toward her B.A. degree in business administration. Rosario, black as well as Hispanic, is highly polished in speech and appearance. In the last five years since completing her B.A. she has repeatedly applied for jobs in business areas. But she is still an ad taker. Rosario is also a plaintiff in a minorities discrimination suit against the *Times* that originated among clerical and janitorial workers. The minorities suit has been moving through the courts more slowly and with less publicity than the women's suit.

Since the women's first collective letter to the *Times* management in 1972 the paper has hired new women. Some of the most prominent of these new women in editorial work have not supported *Times* women's actions.

In the business areas there appeared at first to be a policy of hiring new women for the lowest positions and promoting quickly from among them, while continuing to by-pass long-term women employees.

In their legal defense the *Times* cited the fact that women had traditionally suffered "societal handicaps" that prevented them in the past from fulfilling many jobs as required by the *Times*.

And in some cases this may be true.

As the successful plaintiffs left the courtroom, a woman looked across to the *New York Times* legal table. All men. Pointing to two young lawyers, she said to a fellow plaintiff, a financial reporter, "Look at those two. When we first started this thing in '72 those young punks were copy boys and clerks. The *New York Times* has practically put them through law school and taken them right onto the corporate counsel."

"Maybe," I suggested, "they'd have a hard time finding two bright young women to do this work for them for the rest of their lives."

The second plaintiff reminded me that she had been a financial editor on the *Times*. "And believe me I was torn. In that job I had meetings with the highest corporate executives. It's shocking when you see the way those men at the top really treat people."

This plaintiff, a very well regarded financial reporter has since left the *New York Times*.

Unfortunately, now that "societal handicaps" are being lifted, it may be getting easier for the *Times* to meet their goals with women who have just the mentality they require.

Barbara Garson is the author of *All The Livelong Day* and *MacBird*. She writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.



The Clamshell Alliance has downplayed disobedience tactics, decentralized the organization, and

Clamshell broaches new

By Duncan Harp

SEABROOK, N. H.

IN THE SIXTH AND MOST MILITANT such action to date, 42 members and supporters of the Boston Clamshell Coalition were arrested on Oct. 7 when they tried to gain access to the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear plant construction site. It was the latest component in the Clamshell's current small-scale "wave" strategy, which began immediately after the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's Aug. 10 decision allowing construction to resume at the then-stalled work-site.

Shortly before dawn, 28 Clams staged a two-pronged offensive aimed at "halting construction." They hiked quietly through the company-owned woods adjacent to the plant. Equipped with ladders and ropes, the demonstrators managed to surmount the 7-foot fence that surrounds the plant; rugs protected them from the three feet of barbed wire at its top.

The Clams were prepared, but so were the utility company and the state police. Standing by with guard dogs, troopers were able to arrest the Clams almost as soon as they touched ground.

Later in the day, 14 Clams were arrested as they climbed over another fence on the Rocks Road plant entrance. "We'll be back!" chanted the support crowd of 200 as the last occupier was carted off. Meanwhile, a plainclothed state trooper wielding a Sony Portapak methodically panned the faces of those present.

The ownership of Rocks Road is in dispute, as the residents of Seabrook recently voted to rescind their 1969 decision to give the road to the Public Service Co. of New Hampshire (PSC), the builders of the plant. Townspeople charge that

the PSC has not kept to its original agreement to allow continuing public access to the road, which leads to a recreation area favored for centuries. According to Jim Duff of Boston Clamshell, "The afternoon demonstration is designed to show Clamshell support for the townspeople."

For those arrested, bail was set from \$100 to \$200, and all were arraigned by day's end. At last report, all 25 Clams still in jail were on a hunger strike to press their demand for release on personal recognizance. The first trials are scheduled for the end of next month.

The demonstrations at Seabrook were matched by an equal number of Boston Clamshell actions in Massachusetts. A legal "Safe Energy Fair"—replete with speakers and alternative energy exhibits—was staged on the Boston Common, and six Clams committed civil disobedience at that state's Pilgrim II nuclear plant.

In what may signal a new trend for the anti-nuclear movement, about 25 Clams and members of the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa picketed the offices of the First National Bank of Boston on Oct. 5. They were there to protest the \$100 million that First National has loaned to the Public Service Co., as well as the financial support the bank has given to South Africa's apartheid regime.

Demonstrators distributed leaflets that declared, "The struggle to stop nuclear power extends beyond the Seabrook construction site. To stop nuclear power we seek to stop the flow of capital that builds these plants."

Three Clams were arrested when they tried to present a list of demands to the bank's board of directors. Dennis Redfield, one of those arrested, told *IN THESE TIMES*, "We refused to leave until they agreed to make no more loans to death."

All three Clams were found not guilty—on a technicality—the next day.

As work continues on the Seabrook site, more wave actions are already being planned. In addition, Clamshell is preparing for a naval blockade of the plant's core reactor as soon as the PSC has it shipped to the site.

Is there life after death?

According to informed Clamshell sources, the Associated Press reporter who covers the Alliance is of the opinion that the organization is "dead."

Clearly, the Clamshell's visibility is much lower than it was in the days when it drew 20,000 to Seabrook for a legal rally last June. There is concern in the Alliance over the size of the current actions, and the direction that the group is moving. Opinion on these matters appears divided.

On June 30, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) announced that it was suspending construction at Seabrook pending a judgment by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on the environmental impact of the plant's cooling system. The NRC's decision was made as 200 members of the Clam-affiliated Seabrook Natural Guard sat-in outside its offices. According to Natural Guard member Denise Levertov, reaction to the decision was euphoric. But many Clams were not surprised when the EPA gave the cooling system its approval, and the NRC agreed on Aug. 10 to let construction resume.

According to Dave Slesinger, one of those recently arrested, "After the last NRC decision, it was felt necessary for the Clamshell to maintain an ongoing presence at the site, to keep the issue alive in the public consciousness." The way this was done was to have each affinity group plan and carry out its own

individual action. Sometimes, as in the case of Boston Clamshell, affinity groups coordinated their actions; in most instances, they have not.

As Clam Victor Manfredi expressed the philosophy behind the current waves, "This way people will be organizing themselves, getting more of an infrastructure, spreading out among friends. Obviously, this is not going to be finished in a short time, and so we have to build very strong roots everywhere we can. Decentralization implies much more responsibility. It's not just a question of shifting power from one place to another, it's really creating power." But although this may sound fine in theory, Clamshell is divided on the efficacy of the strategy in practice.

The decision to embark on the current waves was a definite reaction to the events surrounding the June 24 mass rally. Large numbers of Clams—perhaps a majority—were very upset by the decision of Clamshell's Coordinating Committee, a body composed of representatives from all major Clam affiliates, to hold a legal rally in place of the mass civil disobedience that had been planned for since the preceding November.

The decision to "go legal" was made when the state and the power company used a "carrot and stick" approach of offering Clamshell on-site land for a rally if they would agree to forego civil disobedience, while harassing local Clam supporters at the same time. The decision to go legal was also made—contrary to Clamshell's stated principles of operation—without consulting local affinity groups. Although many Clams subsequently supported the wisdom of the decision itself, they could not support the manner in which the decision was reached.

A group calling itself "Clams for Democracy" (CFD) sprang up at the June 24



Photos/Jon Chase

embarked on a new direct action campaign at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear site.

Seabrook wave strategy

rally, attracting wide-spread support—not to mention sensationalized media coverage—with its call for non-hierarchical structures. The group, now holding regular conferences, has become a continuing force for change within the larger Clamshell organization.

The anti-hierarchical sentiment already present in Clamshell was strengthened by the "go legal" decision. In Boston, as elsewhere, the anti-authoritarian reaction

was far-reaching. It was felt that Boston's paid staff had abused the leadership responsibilities entrusted to them. Many Boston Clams considered the abuse of power to be the result of the organizational structure. The full-time staff were replaced by rotating volunteers, and Boston Clamshell became the Boston Clamshell Coalition—now an alliance itself.

At a meeting the night before the Oct. 7 action, this reporter talked with a num-

ber of those who planned to occupy the next day. Perhaps 1000 Boston people had committed themselves to civil disobedience for June 24, and earlier estimates on the size of the Oct. 7 action had reached 150 and more. Thus, many Clams were disappointed in the by then evident size of the coming action.

The reasons for the small turnout are not entirely clear, but a number of explanations have been offered. According

to longtime Clam organizer and Seabrook resident Renny Cushing, the increasing sophistication of the state and power company's handling of Clamshell has had a demoralizing effect on the movement. Referring to the state's offer to let the Alliance hold a legal rally, Cushing noted, "I don't think that people were prepared to deal with how sophisticated the state can be as far as cooperation is concerned."

Continued on page 20.

Anti-nuclear groups escalate actions nationally

By Ron Williams

COINCIDING WITH THE BOSTON Clamshell Coalition's Oct. 7 wave action at Seabrook, hundreds of nuclear opponents were arrested in three similar actions across the country that Saturday.

In Oklahoma, 348 members of the Sunbelt Alliance were arrested after occupying the site of the proposed Black Fox nuclear plant located approximately 13 miles from Tulsa. In an occupation of Commonwealth Edison's Zion nuclear plant in operation some 30 miles north of Chicago, 24 members of the Bailly Alliance were charged with criminal trespass. The Paddlewheel Alliance, based in Indiana and Kentucky, sponsored civil disobedience at the Marble Hill nuclear plant currently under construction about a mile from the Ohio River in Indiana; 31 were arrested at that site.

The Sunbelt, Bailly and Paddlewheel Alliances are products of the enormous growth the anti-nuclear movement has experienced in the past few years. The actions they sponsored on the 7th, al-

though independently planned and executed, had much in common. Each utilized non-violent civil disobedience as a tactic, the affinity group as a basic unit for action and consensus decision-making within the organization.

The three alliances are at different stages of development than the larger and older Clamshell organization, and face an urgent need to increase grass-roots support in their areas. Unlike the direct action of the Boston Clam Coalition that was specifically intended to halt construction, the other occupations were characterized by close cooperation with authorities and a decidedly more symbolic nature.

Mark McLean of the Paddlewheel told *IN THESE TIMES* that a priority of that alliance is educational outreach and that no action at Marble Hill would be initiated if it might jeopardize local support. McLean described the response they met after the Oct. 7 civil disobedience: "The support was amazing—people we had never seen before walked in off the street and offered money to get those arrested released. A doctor in Madison (Ind.) posted a property bond, guaranteeing that we would show up in court."

If the general public seems to be increasingly receptive to the anti-nuclear position, the well-paid employees of nuclear plants have, for the most part, remained unmoved. "Probably the biggest thorn in our side" is the way McLean described the inability of Paddlewheel to reach those who earn their living building nukes.

In leafletting the Marble Hill construction site, alliance members stressed the health dangers involved in such work and maintained that alternative forms of energy production would bring lower paying jobs over a much longer period of time. Nuclear opponents everywhere are up against the harsh realities of the American job market and the relatively high wages offered at nuclear projects. The Paddlewheel is not alone in its difficulty addressing this crucial problem.

The emphasis on grass-roots organizing and the fiercely autonomous disposition of the separate alliances that comprise the burgeoning anti-nuclear movement preclude the creation of any centralized national organization in the near future. Coordination appears to be increasing on a regional basis, however.

Hal Rankin of the Sunbelt discussed

the recent creation of the Great Plains Federation of Nuclear Opponents and Safe Energy Proponents, a loose coalition of activists from Oklahoma, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and Arkansas. "Mostly the Federation provides an opportunity for information exchanges between groups, but it does increase the possibility of coordinating actions."

One such instance of coordinated action is planned around the shipment of a nuclear reactor from Chattanooga to the Wolf Creek construction site in Bloomington, Kansas. The Sunbelt Alliance intends to blockade that shipment as it passes along the Berdigries River in Oklahoma and the Kansas-based Sunflower Alliance is planning a railroad blockade of the same reactor further along the route.

Karen Silkwood Week will provide an unusual national focal point for the movement as hundreds of groups sponsor support activities locally between Nov. 11 and 19. In Oklahoma, a march is scheduled on Nov. 13, starting at the Kerr-McGee nuclear plant where Silkwood was employed and ending at the scene of the fatal automobile accident in which she died.

IN THE WORLD

ITALY

Craxi seeks new European role for Italian Socialists

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) secretary general Bettino Craxi made his debut as a political theorist this summer with an "essay" on the differences between Socialist and Communist tradition published in the Aug. 27 issue of the weekly *Espresso*. The magazine called it the opening of an "unprecedented ideological offensive" about to be mounted by Craxi against the Italian Communist party (PCI).

Craxi's text was meant to be an answer to PCI secretary general Enrico Berlinguer's Aug. 2 interview in *La Repubblica* which stressed the historical circumstances of ideological choices, implying relativity and evolution. Craxi, on the contrary, traced a seemingly changeless conflict between two antithetical ideals: "On one side, there is communism, which wants to suppress the market, put all of society under state control and wipe out every trace of individualism. On the other, there is socialism, which proposes to establish a social control of the economy and works to strengthen society in relation to the state and for the full development of the individual personality."

Like last year's Parisian "new philosophers," Craxi portrayed ideology as the determining constant factor in political currents. On one side, from the French revolution to this day, there are those who make the Jacobin-Leninist error; on the other side, there is "socialism," which Craxi identified with his own party and with a whole range of political thinkers, as varied as Rosa Luxemburg, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Leon Trotsky, Milovan Djilas, Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Bertrand Russell.

"Between Leninist communism and socialism there exists a substantial incompatibility that can be summed up in the opposition between collectivism and pluralism," he wrote. "Leninism, like all forms of communism, is dominated by the ideal of a homogenous, compact, organic, undifferentiated society."

That, of course, is not the way the PCI itself describes its ideals, and there is something inquisitorial about the procedure of defining a body of bad thoughts and then demanding that political adversaries prove they don't think that way.

Innocence of power.

Craxi's essay sheds no light on the mysterious articulations between ideas and history. While asserting that the wrong ideas of Leninism led straight to the Soviet "gulag," Craxi did not examine what has happened in practice to ideas he admires. In practice, social democrats as well as communists, while advocating "social control of the economy" and "development of the individual," have historically turned to the state as the instrument of "social control."

Craxi may want to change this, but then he as much as the communists needs to explain his new course. Does Craxi not want to use government to modify capitalism? If so, does that mean he does not want to modify capitalism, or that he wants to use other means? What other means could in fact be used by a political party organized essentially to get into government through elections? By quoting Proudhon and talking as if socialists were anarchists, Craxi borrowed an

Craxi pits Euro-socialism against PCI's Eurocommunism.

historic innocence of power that falsified the past and gave no clue to the future.

Both socialists and Italian "Eurocommunists" today say they are seeking a "third course" that is neither Soviet-style state control nor social democratic acceptance of capitalism. Before either the PSI or the PCI has come up with a program for getting onto such a course, Craxi's argument seems to rule out their getting together on ideological grounds.

The PCI initially tried to avoid feeding the quarrel. The PCI newspaper *Unita* commented that "noisy and often specious disputes" could weaken working people's commitment to unity. Both Communists and old guard Socialists warned that the left as a whole could turn out to be the big loser of the PSI-PCI ideological battle. Craxi's predecessor as PSI secretary general, Francesco De Martino, expressed uneasiness that the new line might drive out some of the most dedicated party stalwarts.

The PSI has not in the past differed ideologically from the PCI as much—or as clearly—as Craxi makes out. He is creating an entirely new image for the party, for instance by gradually replacing its traditional symbol of the hammer and sickle by a red carnation—a reminder of the 1974 Portuguese revolution and by extension of Portuguese Socialist party leader Mario Soares' exemplary anti-Communism.

"Painful, ideological hash."

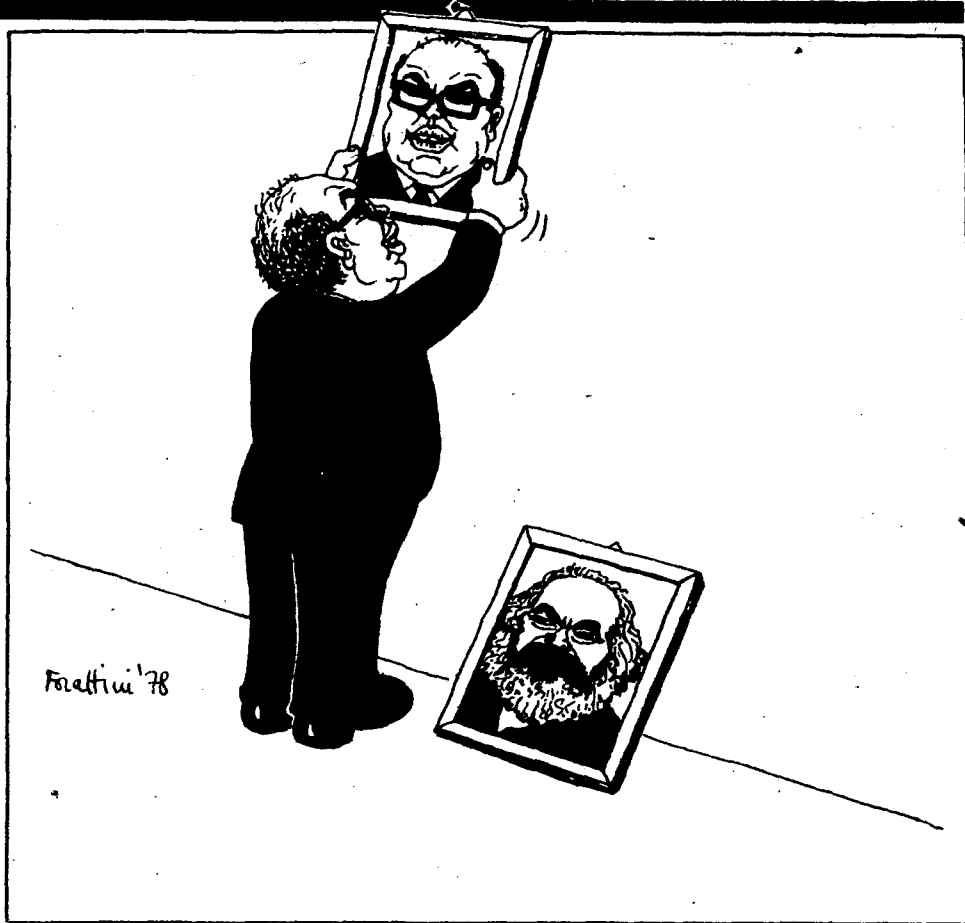
The official Christian Democratic party (DC) reaction was given by Flaminio Piccoli, Aldo Moro's successor as party chairman, who wrote in *Il Popolo* that "Craxi's whole polemic is pervaded by anxiety to claim, in an alternative way, the traits of democracy, secularity and anti-ideological pragmatism, in a word of pluralism, that the PCI has been seeking to retrieve" in a situation requiring PCI leaders to be "gradual and flexible faced with their own base." Piccoli said Craxi's polemic lacked a constructive side and concrete proposals.

Whatever Christian Democratic leaders say, the PSI attacks on PCI Leninism at least have the apparent effect of postponing until doomsday the need for the DC to meet PCI demands to enter the government.

Craxi's essay seemed partly addressed to the far left, which is divided and at loose ends and receptive to complaints about the PCI. Reactions varied and further deepened the split between the barely-parliamentary far left PDUP party of Luciana Castellina and Lucio Magri, who had a low opinion of the essay, and their former organ, the newspaper *Il Manifesto*, in which Luigi Pintor wrote an editorial praising Craxi.

But Marco Boato of *Lotta Continua* called the essay "painful, an ideological hash, eclectic, confusing and mediocre, which can pop up on the front page only because the author is also the secretary of Italy's oldest party and not some university freshman who badly digested his cramming for an exam on the history of political doctrine."

In fairness to Craxi, his essay was re-



Bettino Craxi as seen by LA REPUBBLICA.

portedly largely the work of rising young "new philosopher" Luciano Pellicani, who carried on the battle under his own name by attacking *La Repubblica* editor Eugenio Scalfari's "ignorant" criticism of the essay in a column in the weekly *Europeo*.

Multinational motives.

The "new philosopher" attacks on the Marxist tradition were ostensibly inspired by Soviet dissidents who revealed the "gulag." These attacks coincide, however, with other factors more timely and perhaps more relevant to Western European politics. One is the apparent approach of a Communist party to a role in national government. Another is the political strengthening of the European Economic Community (EEC) through the election next June by universal direct suffrage of a European parliament for the nine EEC countries.

Discourses on the evils of the state have been proliferating in Europe at the very moment when multinational capitalism is interested in getting the point across that the nation-state is not an appropriate decision-making level for economic matters, although necessary for "security" and "the fight against terrorism"—that is, for enforcing the economic and social order molded by decisions taken elsewhere.

Craxi is busy preparing the PSI for a new role in a new world. In early October, he has scheduled party meetings on local PSI policy and on news media. In early November, the PSI plans to sponsor a big international ideological bash on "Marxism, Leninism and Socialism," with star political philosophers headed by Herbert Marcuse, European Socialist leaders, and dissident Eastern European intellectuals, notably Czechs.

This cultural offensive seems aimed less at the working class than at the young intelligentsia influenced by the disintegrating far left groups hostile to PCI style, and more broadly to the part of the middle classes connected to the services sector of the economy. But the whole campaign may be undermined by the unresolved contradiction in the Craxian approach between new left radicalism, with its hints that the PCI might "Germanize" Italy, and a practical *rapprochement* with West German social democracy.

Eurosocialist campaign.

Early next year, in February or March, the PSI will hold special "sessions" on Socialist policy that will go beyond Italian issues to attempt to contribute to an eventual "Socialist Common Program" for Europe. Thus the sessions will give special attention to fitting Italian economic policy in with EEC objectives. The PSI Lead-

ership sees the sessions as preparation for a debate between "Eurosociatism" and "Eurocommunism" for the June 10 European elections.

Craxi is obviously making the PSI over from an idiosyncratically leftist Socialist party that has traditionally rejected social democratic compromises into Italy's most "European" party, speaking a political language more familiar north than south of the Alps, able to talk in terms that make sense to the Germans who will be the major power in the new European parliament.

The transformation is sharp enough to have moved Pierluigi Romita, chairman of the tiny Italian Social Democratic party (known as the country's most pro-American party) to warn, while welcoming the PSI's adoption of social democratic positions, that Craxi was in danger of "drifting to the right." It may also be significant that the rather eccentric Indro Montanelli, whose Milan newspaper *Il Giornale Nuovo* is the main voice of a fierce anti-communism that comes from the right but sometimes joins the far left, has given up altogether on the Christian Democrats and now sees Craxi's party as the country's best hope.

While Craxi's ideological war against communism guarantees him friends in West Germany, it is not yet clear to what extent other socialist parties will want to line up with the PSI in a "Eurosociatism versus Eurocommunism" campaign against the PCI. There is no such thing as a unified "Eurocommunist" position on the Common Market, or on much of anything else. The Irish Communist party has announced it will boycott the European parliamentary elections, while the Danish and British CP's plan to campaign for their countries to withdraw from the EEC. The French Communist party is against letting Spain, Greece and Portugal into the EEC, while the PCI is in favor.

Although first to accept the "Eurocommunist" label, Berlinguer's party is seeking European alliances with socialist parties, especially the important French one. When Francois Mitterrand visited Craxi recently, PCI foreign policy specialist Sergio Segre turned up uninvited to pay his party's warm respects to the French Socialist party leader. Mitterrand's good relations with Italian Communists are politically useful in showing that the Socialist-Communist split in France was the fault of the irascible French Communist party—a view almost openly shared by the PCI. At the EEC level, Berlinguer's party is looking for a new "Euro-left."

As the PSI and the PCI devise their European strategies, the Italian government remains firmly in the grip of the Christian Democrats.

GREAT BRITAIN



Prime Minister James Callaghan

Labour risks it all with vote delay

By Mervyn Jones

L O N D O N

PRIME MINISTER JAMES CALLAGHAN took an enormous gamble when he decided that the general election, universally expected in October 1978, would not take place. The maximum permitted duration of a British Parliament is five years, expiring only in October 1979, but only one Parliament in the last 30 years has run its full term and Callaghan is naturally accused of clinging unjustifiably to office. Tory leader Margaret Thatcher at once commented: "He isn't having the election because he expects to lose it." Opinion polls since published, giving an adequate though not enormous Tory lead, make this undeniable.

The government may be beaten on a vote of confidence in early November. Liberals as well as Tories are pledged to vote against the government, so its survival depends on the attitude of the Scottish Nationalists, who are a highly unpredictable group and, moreover, are divided among themselves. If the Labour party is thus forced into an election, its defeat can be reckoned a virtual certainty.

Union leaders shocked.

Callaghan is banking, however, on being able to call an election some time between March and June 1979. Conceivably, he could hang on until October. That seems unlikely because Labour always benefits from a fresh electoral register (it is compiled annually and comes into use in February). Everything depends, therefore, on what the next six months are going to be like. It's a question, to borrow a phrase much used in discussion of the Northern Ireland situation, of the benign scenario and the malignant scenario.

Benign: Inflation is reduced, our economic problems are eased thanks to the gradual upturn in world trade, no particular disasters occur, and Callaghan is thus seen as the steersman who nobly and selflessly clung to the helm to guide the ship into calmer waters.

Malignant: One crisis follows another, a government without a parliamentary majority is unable to take effective action, and it thus appears as a weak and weary administration overdue for replacement.

It's a fact that inflation is slowing down. The annual rate of increase, which hit a frightening 30 percent back in 1975, now stands at 8 percent. But a reduction in the rate of price increases is a fairly subtle statistical phenomenon, and voters going to the poll may be more vividly impressed by recently having been obliged

to pay more for tea or potatoes. Moreover, what matters to the wage-earning family is the balance between expenditure and income. With winter and its heavy fuel bills looming ahead, millions of working-class people feel that common justice entitles them to a wage rise.

In 1977, the government announced its determination to hold wage rises to 10 percent. The Trades Union Congress replied that it was party to no such agreement and that unions would revert to free collective bargaining. TUC leaders, however, quietly sympathized with the gov-

Ford is a highly profitable concern and has just announced an annual profit of 240 million pounds. To the wage demand (varying according to skills, but averaging 20 percent) the company replied with a flat offer of 5 percent, stating tersely that its hands were tied by government policy.

The dominant union in the plants is under cautious, right-wing leadership. Union chiefs made angry noises, but evidently looked forward to negotiation and compromise. They reckoned without the rank and file. As soon as the news of the

Prime Minister James Callaghan is hoping that by next June, prices will be down, strikes will be over, and scandals forgotten.

ernment's policy and discouraged unions from pressing for rises beyond the limit. Rather to the general surprise, that limit was only marginally exceeded. Price increases and wage increases were pretty evenly matched, leaving the average worker neither richer nor poorer. Strikes were few and were generally unsuccessful.

For 1978-79 (the "wage policy year" runs from August to August), the government was expected to continue the 10 percent limit. But Callaghan—just before his statement postponing the election—announced that the new limit would be a mere 5 percent. On the most optimistic projection of inflation trends, this would leave most wage-earners worse off. Union leaders were shocked. "Derisory," "unacceptable," "insulting"—such were the reactions.

Ford strike.

Meeting for its September annual session, the TUC condemned the 5 percent limit and simultaneously voted a healthy sum of money to help the Labour party in the anticipated election. The election was called off 24 hours later, which didn't help to smooth ruffled union feelings. It can be assumed that the unions will be backing Labour whenever the election comes, but there's a wide gulf between TUC directives and delivering the votes. That was proved in 1970, when a million normally Labour voters stayed at home because they had derived no tangible benefit from Labour government, and thus handed victory to the Tories.

The first showdown came swiftly. Union leaders in the Ford auto plants had grudgingly accepted a 10 percent rise in 1977, and reckoned to do better this year.

company's offer came over the television, workers downed tools. Within a couple of days, all 57,000 Ford workers were on strike. The union has had no choice but to back the spontaneous action.

The government finds itself, inescapably, on the side of the company—one of those wealthy multinationals against whom Labour orators have long declaimed. If the strikers are beaten, 1970 may repeat itself and a vital segment of Labour's support may be lacking on election day. But if they win, and make a precedent for the breaching of the 5 percent limit, the government's authority will be visibly weakened.

Next in line with wage demands are public employees—garbage men, manual staff in hospitals, clerks in welfare offices, and others. The winter may see the kind of strikes that cause the maximum personal inconvenience. Most of these workers are underpaid, earning not much more than social security levels or even less, and their mood has become distinctly bitter.

Here Labour faces another crack in its voting structure. Middle-class people and professionals are generally hostile to unions and infuriated by strikes which interfere with their daily lives. Justly or unjustly, strikes are associated with the Labour Party because of its formal links with the unions. In a pre-election period, Labour needs a series of headline-catching strikes as much as a hole in the head.

It's worth recalling, too, that Labour won the 1974 election by labelling the Tories as the party of confrontation—in contrast to the Labour Party, which knew how to get along with the unions, be fair to all sides and ensure social peace. In

the wake of a strike wave with Labour in office, that card obviously can't be played. Meanwhile, a nasty scandal has broken with the disclosure that British oil companies—notably Shell and British Petroleum, in which the government holds a dominant stake—have been pumping oil to Ian Smith's illegal regime in Rhodesia throughout the period when rigorous economic sanctions were supposed to be in force. It's now abundantly clear that ministers in the Labour government of 1966-1970 knew what was happening. One key minister of the period, Lord Thomson (who, inconveniently, is no longer part of the Labour team and who has his own reasons for wishing to discredit Harold Wilson) has blown the gaff. It was decided in cabinet, he says, that there was no way of depriving Smith of oil without applying the sanctions to South Africa, and the government was unwilling to do that because of the large British investment there.

So the much-vaunted naval blockade of (then Portuguese) Mozambique was a charade, and Wilson's promise that Smith would be reduced to surrender "in weeks rather than months" was consciously baseless. There was no real threat to Smith, and no threat developed until the onset of guerilla war in the country.

The Tories are in no position, morally at least, to capitalise on this scandal. When they were in office between 1970 and 1974, the oil supplies continued merrily and the companies didn't even bother to provide a cover story for the government. Many leading Tories have been admirers of Ian Smith and have called for the total abandonment of the sanctions. Still, the revelations of "Oilgate" provide an extra headache for the Callaghan government—and for Callaghan himself, who was first Chancellor of the Exchequer and then Foreign Secretary at times when the trade was continuing.

Mr. Clean in this matter is today's Foreign Secretary, David Owen, who was a back-bencher when the dirty deals were made. Owen is well aware that Britain's long-term interests (even economically, with Nigeria as a large British market and major oil producer) lie in friendship with black Africa rather than white South Africa. He can be counted on to press within the government for a pro-liberation line on Rhodesia and Namibia, as well as for full disclosure on the oil scandal and action to repair the damage.

With luck, both the Ford strike and the oil scandal will be only memories by the time the election is held. But, as time runs out, it must become increasingly clear that luck is a vital factor in Labour's hopes.

GREAT BRITAIN

Southern African economic scheme fueled 'oilgate'

BY BRUCE VANDERVORT

G E N E V A

HOW DID "OILGATE" HAPPEN? WHY DID BRITISH GOVERNMENTS look the other way—for 13 years—while British Petroleum (BP) and Shell supplied oil to Rhodesia in defiance of UN sanctions to which Britain was a party? ¶In the present circumstances, anyone trying to get to the bottom of the sanctions-busting scandal could do worse than heed "Deep Throat's" advice to Bob Woodward during Watergate: "Just follow the money, kid." Taking this road at least avoids one of "oilgate's" most dangerous illusions: that Rhodesia was the focus of the British government's concern. The money leads to Pretoria, South Africa, not to Salisbury.

Dependence on South Africa.

When the UN voted economic sanctions against Rhodesia in 1965, Pretoria announced that it would ignore the embargo and would take a dim view of any foreign company in South Africa that didn't follow suit. The South Africans meant business, both literally and metaphorically, as an American automobile firm found out in 1966 when it ordered its South African subsidiary to stop selling cars and parts in Rhodesia. The company reversed its policy after being told by the then Finance Minister Dr. N. Diedrichs that "if South Africa does not participate in a boycott action, then *no South African company* has the right to participate in a boycott." (Italics added.)

BP and Shell claim that they underwent the same kind of pressure and that if they wanted to hang onto their huge stake in South Africa they had no choice but to knuckle under. BP, Britain's biggest firm, held South African assets of \$238 million in 1967, the same year it announced plans to sink another \$635.5 million into the country. Anglo-Dutch Shell, the world's second largest company (after Exxon), was boosting its South African stake from \$404.5 million to some \$1.05 billion over the same period.

Given the size of their stake in South Africa, it is doubtful that BP and Shell officials agonized for long over whether to go along with Pretoria's sanctions-busting effort in Rhodesia. It should not be assumed, however, that London secretly acquiesced in the caper just to pro-

tect BP and Shell. Sizeable though it is, BP/Shell combined investment in South Africa is only a fraction of total British holdings there.

UK-based investment in South Africa reached some \$7.14 billion in 1977, according to the British government's Board of Trade. This represents nearly 60 percent of all foreign investment in South Africa. (U.S. investment in the country, meanwhile, totalled \$1.96 billion in 1975, about 17 percent of total overseas holdings.)

Then there is trade. Traditionally, South Africa has been the UK's major commercial partner in Africa. Recently, in defending its general policy of "No confrontation with South Africa," the Labour government claimed that a trade embargo against South Africa would cost 70,000 British jobs almost immediately and many more in the long run.

Finally, the UK shares with the rest of Europe (and, to some extent, the U.S.) a growing dependence on South Africa for mineral and energy resources. South Africa is said to possess 85 percent of the "free world's" known reserves of chromium and manganese, and 95 percent of its known vanadium reserves. As to energy supplies, the size of South Africa's coalfields has already been noted. In addition, through its grip on Namibia, South Africa has become the world's third ranking miner of uranium ore and Europe's major source of nuclear fuel.

Those who want to give the British government the benefit of the doubt in

the "oilgate" affair say that enforcement of oil sanctions against South African wishes might have been courting economic collapse. They point to the contemporary sharp decline in the value of sterling, the large trade deficit, growing domestic unemployment and so on. In short, until the North Sea oil came on-stream, the UK could not afford the luxury of angering its top African trading partner.

South Africa Common Market.

But there is a massive flaw in this line of reasoning. The relative improvement in Britain's economic situation over the 1965-77 period produced no move to stem the flow of oil to Rhodesia. This suggests that London's southern Africa policy, rather than being a reluctant response to a downturn in the business cycle, was—and is—motivated by considerations of long-term economic security. Assuming that this is true, the "oilgate" money trail may lead beyond Pretoria—to a rich and promised land called the Southern Africa Common Market (SACM).

So far, SACM exists only in the minds of certain white South African businessmen and politicians (and their overseas friends), although it has been a constant feature of South African foreign policy since at least 1961. SACM is envisaged as an economic and political union of the states of southern Africa, with the Republic of South Africa at its hub. As defined in 1968 by Prime Minister John Vorster, this "Greater South Africa" would be cemented together by inter-regional trade, South African development aid and investment and a shared anti-communism.

Since then, much has happened to disturb Vorster's dream. The appearance of Marxist regimes in Angola and Mozambique and the growth of radical black resistance in Namibia and Rhodesia have been sharp setbacks to the SACM scheme. Still, some progress has been made. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have been roped into something called the Customs Union of Southern Africa and Malawi remains a virtual client state.

Rhodesia, however, represents the most formidable bridge toward the SACM. Since the imposition of sanctions in 1965, Rhodesia has become increasingly dependent upon its southern neighbor. The price of this assistance has been virtual integration into the South African economy. Today around half of the foreign firms operating in Rhodesia are South African. South African companies dominate the country's key agricultural and mining sectors and account for four of its top ten manufacturing concerns.

Angola still targeted.

Not surprisingly, the biggest South African investor in Rhodesia is J. Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation. The leading advocate of the "liberal capitalist" option for southern Africa and the kingpin of South Africa's gold and diamonds business, Oppenheim-

er owns a big chunk of Rhodesian coal, copper and nickel mining and runs the country's largest agribusiness company (and its second ranking corporation), Hippo Valley Estates. Anglo-American also has minority interests in Rhodesia's second largest mining firm, Barlow Rand of South Africa, and its second largest agribusiness outfit, South Africa's Huletts Corporation (sugar).

South African penetration of the Rhodesian market has led one author to call the country "South Africa's Sixth Province." It is also springboard for the incorporation of copper-rich Zambia—where Oppenheimer also has extensive holdings—into a future SACM.

Nor have the South Africans given up on Angola, even richer in cash crops and minerals than Rhodesia, and now being nudged into a rapprochement with the West. It should also be remembered that Angola has oil, the only missing ingredient in South Africa's self-sufficiency mix.

While SACM was first articulated by the Afrikaaner hardliners and became the vital economic dimension of Vorster's "forward" southern Africa policy in the early '70s, it now seems unlikely that the old Pretoria crowd can make the idea work. What little chance remained to them was probably wiped out by their decision to intervene in Angola in 1975-76. Custodianship of the dream now seems to have passed to J. Harry Oppenheimer and his friends.

These friends include major American and European business interests and, one suspects, not a few Western governments (ITT, Aug. 10, 1977). For the stakes are enormous: domination of Africa south of the Sahara in the name of South African and Western free enterprise and, given the right cosmetic changes in Pretoria and Salisbury, of Western style democracy.

Only Deep Throat knows.

Much of the necessary infrastructure is already in place. The leading Western multinationals have been present in South Africa for some time and, like Shell and BP, have long used this base as a launching pad into the rest of southern Africa. Thus, should the Republic of South Africa grow into the heartland of a SACM, the transnationals would grow with it. And in so doing, it would assure anxious Western governments—like Britain's—that their future needs in commerce and raw materials will be met.

The ideology for this new "carve-up" of southern Africa was provided in Johannesburg last May by none other than Andrew Young. "This is the opportunity for change through the marketplace. Change that is non-violent, productive and humane," he told a crowd of South African businessmen.

Was it to keep this long-range southern African option open that the British government refused to "confront" BP and Shell and, especially, South Africa over sanctions-busting? Only "Deep Throat" knows for sure, and so far he's not telling. ■

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(signed) James Weinstein

Editor

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Carter tries to win Nicaraguan center to stop civil war

By Cynthia Aronson

WASHINGTON

IN A SEPT. 22 LETTER TO PRESIDENT Carter, 78 members of Congress charged that "the campaign of violence, urban terrorism, and near civil war in Nicaragua is being carried out by a revolutionary group whose leaders have trained in Havana and Moscow and whose goal is to make Nicaragua the new Cuba of the Western Hemisphere. Should the lawful government of Nicaragua fall, the Marxist terrorist forces would be the chief beneficiaries. Our country would certainly lose a long-standing and loyal ally."

The letter, initiated by Rep. John Murphy (D-NY), a former West Point classmate of Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza Debayle, was aired frequently over Nicaragua's government-controlled radio station as National Guard troops completed their bloody mopping-up of a four-week-long national mutiny. Though extreme in its rhetoric, the congressional letter reflects some of the fears, if not the conclusions, of those in Washington's policy-making establishment.

With all sectors of the Nicaraguan population firmly united against Somoza, the debate here centers on how best to achieve, in the words of the State Department, "an enduring, democratic solution that does not fundamentally challenge traditional U.S. economic and security interests in Central America."

With a team of negotiators from the U.S., Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic now in Managua to mediate the crisis, few doubt that the weeks ahead will be difficult. For the Nicarzguan Broad Opposition Front (FAO) that is challenging Somoza, the central issues to be resolved are the duration of Somoza's continued rule, the composition of a provisional government, and the restructuring of the National Guard. Indications of a split within the FAO between members of the traditional parties and the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) began to surface over whether Somoza's resignation should be a pre-condition for beginning the negotiations. Only one of the three Sandinista factions has joined the FAO, however, and the acceptability of an electoral solution—with or without Somoza's resignation—is by no means clear.

Fear of Sandinistas.

Deep-rooted fears of a radical solution spearheaded by the FSLN have prompted U.S. negotiation efforts. Of no less concern is the impact of the Nicaraguan insurgency on rebel movements in neighboring El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. While the push-button anti-communism that led to the landing of U.S. troops in Guatemala in 1954 and in the Dominican Republic in 1965 has been kept in check, the underlying motivations of U.S. policy remain the same.

Fears of an increased polarization in Nicaragua have, indeed, prompted the search for alternatives to Somoza, although State Department officials have scrupulously avoided advocating Somoza's ouster. In recent hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY) affirmed: "Somoza is going to go. I personally have no doubt about that. Don't we have to try to do something to encourage the middle group, the businessmen, the professional men, the farmers, to be the ones that will actually take over a new government?"

James Theberge, ambassador to Nica-

The Sandinistas have played a central role in opposing Somoza and are immensely popular, but the U.S. is doing its best to squeeze them out.



A Nicaraguan mother weeps over her son's body in Matagalpa

ragua under Pres. Ford and academic alarmist on Soviet penetration of Latin America, articulated the right-wing consensus: "The longer the Somoza regime stays in power it becomes a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy that the Sandinistas will again increase in strength and are likely to become the major single political force. It is definitely in our interest and in the interest of the democratic sectors in Nicaragua to have a rapid transition and early elections."

Given the recognition that an "enduring solution" means Somoza's stepping down, U.S. officials must contend with the more tricky issue of FSLN participation in a new government. Ironically, while the Sandinistas played the central role in galvanizing the opposition to Somoza, and enjoy immense popular support, the U.S. has been doing its best to marginalize them in the evolving settlement. William Jorden, who Carter sent to Nicaragua to prepare the way for negotiations, reportedly met with Somoza several times in late September and not once with members of the FSLN. Just how far the U.S. is willing to go in incorporating the Sandinistas may prove pivotal in the chances for the "democratic" resolution they seek.

Similarly thorny for the U.S. negotia-

tors is the issue of a fundamental reorganization and "cleansing" of the National Guard. If the Guard is the last line of defense against Castroism, as U.S. officials seem to believe, a changing of the Guard, along with FSLN representation in a new government, would ultimately increase the chances for a Sandinist victory.

The administration's choice of negotiators for the current talks suggest that Washington's hard-liners are prevailing. William Bowdler, the U.S. envoy, is a career foreign service officer who has served on the National Security Council, as ambassador to El Salvador and Guatemala, and, most notably, was Henry Kissinger's appointee to head the embassy in South Africa in April 1975, the height of the covert U.S. intervention in Angola.

In the absence of fairly rapid success in the negotiations, many observers speculate that the FSLN will launch new attacks supported by an ever larger sector of Nicaragua's brutalized population. The next few months may prove to be the ultimate test of the Carter administration's ahistorical declaration of a policy of "nonintervention" in Nicaragua. ■

Cynthia Arnson is a researcher for the Institute for Policy Studies.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Honorable Jimmy Carter
President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Honorable Jimmy Carter
 President
 the White House, D.C. 20500
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Irrefutable evidence amply documents the fact that the campaign
 of violence, urban terrorism and near civil war in Nicaragua is
 being carried out by a revolutionary group whose leaders have been
 trained in Havana and Moscow and whose goal is to make Nicaragua the
 new Cuba of the Western Hemisphere.

I urge you to do your utmost to demonstrate the support of
 the United States Government for the Government of Nicaragua and
 to support a long and consistent ally of the United States.

We urge you to do your utmost to
United States Government for the Government of
President Anastasio Somoza, a long and consistent ally
States.
absence of expression of United States support for the
and indeed with some expression of
Nicaragua, and some sectors of Nicaraguan citizens
Marxist revolutionaries. Should
Marxist terrorist
Marxist would

In the absence of expression of United States support for Government of Nicaragua, and indeed with some expression of hostility toward Nicaragua, some sectors of Nicaraguan citizens have begun to collaborate with the Marxist revolutionaries. Should the lawful Government of Nicaragua fall, the Marxist terrorist forces would be the chief beneficiaries. Our country would certainly lose a long-standing and loyal ally.

We ask you to take immediate steps to collect the misapplied application of your policies by the Department of State, particularly regarding unsubstantiated and erroneous allegations against the government of Nicaragua.

We ask you to take immediate application of your policies by the Department of State, particularly regarding unsubstantiated and erroneous charges against the government of Nicaragua.

We further urge you to come publicly to the support of the Government of Nicaragua during this period of crisis.

Sincerely,
John P. McDonald
John P. McDonald
Ambassador

st further urge you
Nicaragua during
sincerely,

John M. Huzzey
John W. Murphy
Charles Wilson
Charles Wilson
John M. Ashbrook
John J. Flynt, Jr.
John J. Flynt, Jr.

James P. McDonald
Eldon Budd
Pete M. Crane
Phillip M. George
J. Robinson
J. Kenneth Robinson

Provisional gov't formed

By Blase Bonpane

The Nicaraguan provisional government, together with hundreds of supporters, met at Panama City Sept. 28-Oct. 1. Leadership of the new government is represented by:

• **Sergio Ramirez**, lawyer, member of the 12 (*Los Doce*) a prominent group of Nicaraguans instrumental in demanding participation of the Sandinista Liberation Front in all negotiations.

• **Rafael Cordova Rivas**, president of the UDEL Coalition (Democratic Union of Liberation) and spokesman for the Broad Front of Opposition.

•Alfonso Robelo Callejas, industrialist and leader of the MDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Movement), the Nicaraguan business community in opposition to Somoza.

The three-member provisional government asserts that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is in fact the new army of Nicaragua. The FSLN, however, does not have a representative in the provisional government.

FSLN leaders present at the Panama City meeting commented on the recent fighting in Nicaragua saying that the only attack planned by them was at the National Palace. The actions that followed in Masaya, Leon, Chinandega and Esteli were spontaneous uprisings, the people's response to their attack on the National Palace.

As a result of these uprisings the FS-LN representatives said that they are now united in a strategy: the destruction of the National Guard.

FSLN leaders explained that, contrary to press reports, Eden Pastora, the Jesuit trained businessman who led the attack on the National Palace, is not dead.

Immediate plans of the Nicaraguan provisional government are:

- Urge all countries of the world to break relations with the Somoza regime.

- Recognize the FSLN as the only legitimate military force in Nicaragua.

- Oppose any attempt of the U.S. to isolate the FSLN from negotiations.

- Expose the presence of foreign mercenaries in Nicaragua.

The Panama City meeting expressed deep concern that the U.S. might want Somoza to leave while retaining the National Guard. A few wealthy Nicaraguan families can be identified in support of that position. But the vast majority of Nicaraguans will no longer accept the National Guard.

BLOOD OF THE CONDO

Condominiums destroy old neighborhoods to create new ones for the affluent.

By David Moberg

Several dozen picketers circled methodically in front of the Hyde Park Federal Savings building on Chicago's South Side, stopping Saturday morning clients as they came to make their deposits and withdrawals. One of their signs read: "We shall not be moved." The words were old and familiar, burned into American consciousness by the freedom riders of the '60s civil rights movement and the union organizers of the '30s.

Now in Chicago and many other cities the words have taken on a new—but still quite appropriate—meaning. The demonstrators were refusing to be moved out of their apartments and out of their neighborhood by the increasing conversion of rental buildings into condominiums.

"Displacement," a central crime of the urban renewal programs of a decade or more ago against the poor, has cropped up once again on the urban political agenda. This time it is the ironic result of what many people thought old city neighborhoods desperately needed: reinvestment by financiers who had abandoned them.

This new-style urban renewal, in which condominiums are central, brings less wholesale destruction than the earlier method and more "gentrification," a polite term for pushing out those with less money and bringing in the well-to-do. Converters of buildings into condominiums often portray themselves as saviors of the housing stock of the central city. Behind the whole process—whatever its secondary effects—is the lure of speedy, often immense profits. There are other ways of saving these neighborhoods—both the property and the people who already live there—but it requires a head-on confrontation with the rule of the market and speculation over the provision of one of people's most basic needs: a comfortable, affordable home in a neighborly community.

In a condominium the residents own their apartments, pay a monthly fee for maintenance of the common property and participate in a government association responsible for the care of the building. If they move, they sell their apartment to someone else, who obtains a mortgage like any other home buyer. Condominiums were not recognized in law until the 1960s, but by late in the decade they were booming. Soon many buyers found that they had been grossly misled about the condition of their building and the costs of keeping it up. Converters often followed the advice offered in a recent real estate magazine: for a few pennies you can buy a new rubber gasket for the kitchen sink that will make buyers believe they have a new garbage disposal. Now legislation in many states and municipalities has forced converters to disclose more about the physical and financial terms, to give tenants more time to find a new apartment, to give tenants who want to buy the

first chance, and to limit the control the converter has over the building.

Condominiums are being established in large numbers in Chicago, Washington, D.C., New York, Los Angeles, Houston, Seattle, San Francisco, other Bay Area cities and many other parts of the country. There are probably 1.75 million condominium units in the country now with another quarter million or more added each year, according to James Dowden, executive vice-president of the Community Associations Institute, a national representative of condominium interests. At least a quarter of all new housing in growing areas, according to Dowden, or even as much as half of all for-sale housing, by other estimates, will be condominiums by the middle of the next decade if the trend continues. New condominium units in the suburbs pose problems mainly for the purchasers, but the real social difficulties develop with the conversion of existing apartments, especially the older, moderate-income buildings that are now being snapped up as the wave of conversion extends beyond the luxury buildings that were often first to be converted.

With the rapid rise in the cost of new single-family, detached houses, the staple of the American Dream, rehabilitation of older housing stock of the central cities has become increasingly attractive. A recent study by the National Urban Coalition sounded an alarm about the impact of such neighborhood rehabilitation. Generally it results in displacement of renters, the elderly, low-income residents and, in many cases, some minorities. Wherever much of the old housing stock consists of multi-family buildings, condominiums appear to be an important part of this gentrification process.

The controversy in Chicago's Hyde Park is not atypical. Hyde Park is a fairly dense, once quite prosperous neighborhood on the shore of Lake Michigan where the University of Chicago is located. During the years after World War II, the adjacent neighborhoods became increasingly black and poor. Through a variety of efforts, including massive urban renewal clearance by the University, much of the low-income black housing was destroyed. The whitened racial composition

stabilized, and the neighborhood uneasily remained one of the few integrated sections of Chicago as well as a diverse, cosmopolitan area. Although wealthy whites wrote it off as "too dangerous" and "too black," in recent years it has become much more attractive as a place for young professionals to live. Condominiums have been creeping in from the lakefront luxury buildings for several years, but this year the community has become aroused by a boom in conversions of the moderate-income, older buildings with large, attractive apartments.

Opposition began to materialize when a group of investors, including Hyde Park Federal Savings, revealed plans for converting four apartment buildings in one block into condominiums. The well-established block club quickly began negotiations with the bank. An unusual coalition of renters, homeowners, members of a cooperative, landlords and even owners of a condominium agreed that they opposed further condominium conversion. They were joined a few months later by renters in a 143-unit former luxury hotel, the Sherry Apartments, which was also slated for conversion by the bank.

Paul Berger, president of Hyde Park Federal, refused to compromise with the Ad Hoc Tenants Committee, which wanted rental units preserved and had at least two alternative proposals. The committee then began picketing the bank and asking people to pledge to withdraw their deposits if the bank would not negotiate.

The controversy brought class conflict in the neighborhood out into the open. It's not the first time, either. Old Hyde Parkers Mike Nichols and Elaine May used to describe the community as black and white, arm-in-arm against the poor. The basic class issues are still there: Do tenants have rights to their home by virtue of renting or does the property owner have unrestricted power to throw them out? Are people's access to necessities of life, such as housing, best served when those goods are commodities in a market, subject to unrestrained speculative manipulation? Should public taxing policies that help upper income homeowners most be maintained at the expense of everyone else? Who will decide the character of a community—the people who live there or the renters, speculators and bankers?

If the issues are a little different from those usually conjured up by rhetoric of "class struggle," the antagonists also are a bit out of the ordinary. On the one side there are social workers, teachers, writers, clerks, clergy, postal workers, salespeople, retired shopkeepers, factory workers, students. Many have been active in independent politics or associated with civil rights, anti-war or other progressive causes.

On the other side sit people like banker Paul Berger and developer Louis Silver, men who would still proudly call themselves liberals and can point to their contributions to civil rights organizations or the creation of subsidized public housing for the poor. Indeed, Hyde Park Federal was founded by Berger and others 18 years ago to reverse the redlining of Hyde Park and to keep the neighborhood integrated.

Then, as now, the central issue was determining what kind of neighborhood Hyde Park should be. Recently a task force of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference—CHOICE—completed a preliminary draft of a report on declining rental housing that states, "In a matter of years Hyde Park-Kenwood could cease to be a mixed income and racially heterogeneous community."

Yet Paul Berger claims that the bank is simply "upgrading" the community and furthering democracy, which relies on a strong, homeownership middle class. It's a disturbing view of democracy, especially when one realizes that only 27 percent of American families could

afford to buy a median-priced new house in 1976, compared with 47 percent only six years earlier. The character of the Hyde Park community will change dramatically as its proportion of rental housing—80 percent in 1960, 65 percent or lower now—hits 50 percent in ten years or less, as real estate promoters predict and hope. Although on the surface the wave of condominium conversions is not racially biased, even its advocates admit that it is class biased—driving out people of moderate means. And a disproportionate number of those will be black.

Licia Evans, a black woman who is president of the 53rd and Woodlawn block club, has a personal stake in the fight: the apartment in which she and her salesman husband have lived for many years is slated for conversion. A clerk with some experience fighting for integrated schools, Evans rejects the supremacy of property rights over the rights of people and their community.

"A lot of people have been on our block 30 years or more," she said. "There are a lot of retired people and people who can't afford to buy condominiums. We all have stayed in Hyde Park when it was unstable, in the '60s when there was crime and everything. Now they want us to move out so the upper class can move in. We're the ones who stabilized the community, but the bank wants only the middle class. They say it's not racial, but it is—and economically prejudiced, too.

"All Berger has to do is take a little less. But he's not thinking about the human factor, only money. They're interested only in profits. Eighteen years ago the very people living in this community made that bank. It was established to help the little man in the

community. Now they turn about-face and drive the little man out. Now the little people's own money is being used to displace them. Is that the way it should be? No. It's just greed.

"I can understand that they feel they own the building and can do anything they want, but we have things we want. If they repaired the buildings and rented, they would be making a profit, but just not as much as they want. We tenants have rights, too. We kept that building up for the owner and by paying rent we've enabled him to do things. As a renter, I don't have ownership, but I have moral rights. I've lived there a long time. I feel it's mine, too, and I should have a say."

Evans resents the converters' contention that they will save the community, since the block club has fought irresponsible, absentee landlords for years to maintain the quality of the block. Their most recent battle, repeatedly delayed by continuances in court, is with the owner of a building filled with destructive tenants who

are not evicted even though they pay no rent and harm the neighborhood. The owner: Hyde Park Federal Savings.

Ida Wilson, a retired schoolteacher, and her husband, a retired General Motors factory worker, had chosen to put their savings into their children's education rather than a house. Now, in their mid-sixties, they are being uprooted. "We should have some respect and not be harassed," she says. "The only thing we can do is fight. If necessary we'll try to find an apartment, but the chances are slim. And if you select a building, how do you know it won't go condo?"

Oddly enough, property owners on the block share many of the feelings of the renters. They were not at all delighted by the prospect that their property might jump in value by 50 percent. "I'm thinking," homeowner Joe Williams said, "if my property goes up 50 percent, what's that going to do to my taxes? Nobody could afford it. There will just be big shots coming in from the suburbs and the rest of us will be forced out. I'm not interested in selling my house to make money. I bought this 'cause I wanted a place to live the rest of my life. With more condominiums the neighborhood will gradually start deteriorating from what it is now with a little bit of everything." Those damn white middle-class suburbanites, running the neighborhood down again.

At the Sherry Apartments, the old people are the focus of concern. Many had taken refuge in Hyde Park when they fled from Europe in the '40s. Now they were being driven out of their adopted home. One elderly couple had already arranged to move to a Chicago Housing Authority building on the North Side. They were distressed to be leaving their friends of several decades, the neighborhood they knew, the place where they had hoped they could live out their last years comfortably. They were losing not just an apartment but a large piece of their lives.

"Paul Berger is trapped," says Sherry tenants union leader Florence Levinsohn, a writer and editor. "He doesn't want to push out the school teachers and social workers who've lived here all these years, but he wants to make a buck. What difference does it make if that means there are doctors and lawyers living here instead? Can he help it if social workers don't get paid as much? He wants to make a profit. I said to Paul, 'What's happened to your instincts? They used to be right.' Now he's just a middle-aged businessman who wants to make money, a lot of money."

That's the simplest, best explanation for the wave of condominium conversions. "If there's a market," Jim Bringley, assistant vice-president of South Shore

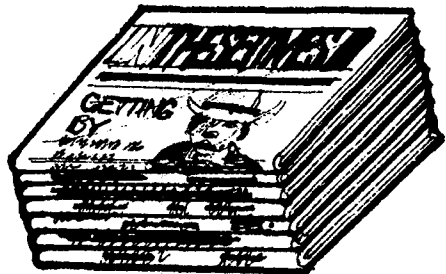
Continued on page 18.



Sherry Apartments residents join community coalition against condo converters.

Marc Pokempner

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LETTERS

A FORM OF VIOLENCE

SOMETIMES, DESPITE ALL THE EMOTIONAL, social and financial support she has from those around her, a woman simply does not want to have a child. She probably does not believe that her pregnancy is a disease or that she is a womb to be deactivated, but she also knows that she is not just an incubator for the human race regardless of the circumstances of her own life.

Safe abortions must be available to all women, rich or poor. Most deaths from illegal abortions are of minority women. The attempt to prevent any woman from getting proper medical care is a form of violence.

—Jean Peterman
Bowling Green, Ohio

FANCIFUL

ELIZABETH MOORE'S VIEW (ITT, OCT 4) of abortion and population growth appears to have a somewhat ardent following on the extreme left. To depict the hardwon right of abortion as a weapon whereby the rich and powerful, automated society decimates the superfluous hoards of poor "expendable" people is fanciful indeed.

No doubt Moore is pleased to see so many people's advocates among the members of Congress, the President, and the John Birch Society working to abolish this weapon of the corporate elite.

—Michael Wenzler
Indianapolis, Ind.

ENJOYABLE

ELIOT WALD'S COLUMN ON THE NEW ENBC TV series *W.E.B.* was worth the price of a subscription. Whatever you do, please keep that man writing commentaries on television shows for ITT. It may not hasten the revolution, but it certainly will make debunking the media an enjoyable experience.

—Suzanne & Jim Cowan
Santa Cruz, Calif.

FEVERISH

I'M BEGINNING TO WONDER IF WE'RE all on the same side. Your recent paean to religion and Michael Lerner's trendy sermon on family life ("Socialists and Feminists in Defense of the Family"—Gad! as grim sounding an outfit as ever I heard of) were bad enough, but the letters in the Oct. 4 issue threw me into a fever of doubt.

Juli Loesch's continuing campaign for motherhood this time involved a really odd version of "machismo." My experience has been that the most vicious sexists invariably view pregnancy as woman's natural and holy state. I suspect her real view of women is about as crude as that of her "immature boy-friends": that women are wombs waiting to be activated.

Elizabeth Moore's letter was just plain nuts. Can a woman really improve society or her own lot by letting someone else decide when and if she becomes a mother? Can a socialist really have written that letter? More likely a pen-wield-

ing agent provocateur. Oh, and that old and easy insult about atheists making a religion of their politics: surely the Bible-thumpers on the staff can come up with something more original than that.

—Tony Howe
Austin, Tex.

ALLIES OF THE KKK?

IN ANSWER TO JULI LOESCH'S LETTER May Alice Jeffries' reactionary and anti-woman stand on abortion (ITT, Oct. 4) is inconsistent with her struggle against poverty and exploitation. She should also know that the virulently racist Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party oppose the right to abortion.

Like Loesch, I am a childless working woman with a very limited income. I will probably never be faced with an unwanted pregnancy, as I have been sterilized; nonetheless, unlike Loesch, I support a woman's right to choose abortion.

In answer to Elizabeth Moore's letter stating that my Sept. 20 defense of abortion right plays into the hands of the Madison Avenue corporate elites, contemporary social Darwinists, and the pseudo-scientific racists of our time, I would remind her that it is those very people who are the first to oppose a woman's right to choose. And it is poor women who suffered the most from dangerous illegal abortions before abortion was legalized and who today suffer the most from the Hyde Amendment.

I oppose the position taken by some zero-growth advocates that women be compelled against their will to undergo sterilization and abortion, and the position taken by the pro-natalists. This issue isn't population control, it is the right to choose.

And as a feminist, a socialist, an atheist, and the granddaughter of early 20th century Jewish immigrants who came to

this country in steerage from Russia to escape the Tsar's pogroms, I totally agree with Tyrone Walls' letter defending the socialist-atheist position.

—Karen Moshewitz
Indianapolis, Ind.

PLAYBOY AND ABORTION

LIKE JEAN PETERMAN (ITT, OCT. 4), I am a feminist, pacifist and former assistant county organizer for the UFW. Yet, I have not arrived at her conclusion about abortion. I disagree strongly with her contention that "a feminist who is against the right to choose is a contradiction in terms." There's no denying that abortion is a desperate act—yet condoning the act does little to change the despairing scenario that necessitated the action.

Recently, the Playboy Foundation sponsored a major fund-raising event for pro-abortion legislation. The oppression perpetrated by magazines such as *Playboy* (despite their "liberal" investigative journalism) continues to affect the lives of all American women. Is abortion a freedom we exercise, a right we choose—or is it merely a disguised vehicle of continued oppression?

The Playboy Foundation's continued support of pro-abortion campaigns is one more reason for continued skepticism about the "liberation" that the right to an abortion engenders.

—Terry Allen
Ganado, Ariz.

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DIALOG

Steelworkers charge ITT's Convention report 'does a number' on union

SUBSCRIBERS AND READERS WERE ATTRACTED TO IN THESE Times over a year ago because it offered the promise of an independent democratic and non-sectarian socialist reportage and commentary on important domestic and foreign affairs. While this objective has prevailed over ideological reporting in most of its efforts, a classic low departure from this occurred in the account of the recent convention of the United Steelworkers of America (ITT, Oct. 4). The result is both an assault on the credibility of ITT and the judgment of its editorial staff, and a distressing instance of being sucked into the labyrinth of left sectarian journalism. For those of us familiar with both the Steelworkers and the left press, it was a self-fulfilling prophecy to see Ben Bedell, Andy Rose and Rick Nagin join the working press section at last month's 19th Constitutional Convention of the USWA: They were going to do a "number" on the union, and we were providing them an up-front view from which to do the job.

But the politics and the labor "reporting" of the *Guardian*, *The Militant* and the *Daily Worker* is predictable. At least they are up-front: you know with whom you are dealing. But who the hell is "Michael Gillespie"? Why has his by-line never before appeared in ITT or any other recognizable publication? If he

writes on the Steelworkers and labor, as your credits indicate, why not identify him further?

So we assume he is a pen name. Why use a pen name in ITT to write about the convention of the largest industrial union in North America, if it is important enough to devote a page to it? A reporter of the commercial press or, perhaps, a very partisan participant—one of those "unionists organizing for a more democratic and militant" USWA? We will never know, unless he comes forward to acknowledge conception.

That in itself was at best a lousy judgment for ITT's editors (who had at first said that they would be at Atlantic City and then changed their mind, declaring that a "stringer" from a small Chicago daily would cover for them). The worst

was your pseudonymous Mr. Gillespie's reporting, which was replete with speculation, factual error, editorializing, double standard commentary and conclusions not based on any facts observed by the vast majority of the press in attendance.

Since "Mr. Gillespie" sought to do a number on the Steelworkers, let's take some of them, by the numbers:

1. "The convention poorly reflected the sentiments of the union's 1.3-million members." Does your pen name seek to imply that the delegate election process within the USWA's 5200 local unions is rigged? Or is it rigged only in those locals who did not send the 300-odd delegates committed to "democratic and militant unionism"?

2. "Scores of local union resolutions were passed supporting direct membership ratifications." Two score? Three score? How about 67—out of more than 1,000 locals in the four primary metals industries. A "burning issue" that never caught fire except in the pages of some Chicago newspapers.

3. "...pro-administration delegates led by the union's 800 staff representatives ...dominated ...rammed through ...orchestrated," etc. Your pen name betrays a favorite sectarian line, which has never been fully explored in ITT or any other left medium purporting a deep concern over the course of labor: does the evolution of a "career unionist" from the local to staff and International Union suggest a "sellout" process in which it is assumed that they (the staff reps) are adversary to the interests of the rank and file member? If so, document it! The staff of the Steelworkers is political, without a doubt: those who think they all agree and vote together should recall that four of the five members of the Sadlowski slate in 1977 were staff reps. I don't recall their platform calling for the disfranchisement of the staff at conventions.

4. Not true: "The administration withdrew a measure that would have eliminated membership referendum elections." Let your pen name give citation and date of any "measure" under consideration at any time by the USWA administration since June, 1977. It doesn't exist.

5. Double standard: an anti-women's

rights delegate was "booed by the overwhelmingly male delegates" in one paragraph and in another an administration critic was "loudly booed...by McBride supporters." Are the delegates enlightened on one issue, then administration hacks on another? Are they "democratic and militant" because they supported the administration's civil rights resolution but "poorly reflecting the sentiments" of the membership when rejecting a ratification proposal supported by only 3 percent of the seated delegates?

Pen person Gillespie was heavy on the rhetoric of an opposition that even he admits was poorly organized. But he dismissed the economics of those groups for whom he romanticized the ratification issue: that they are among the top six real wage earners among U.S. industrial workers. He twisted completely the McBride position to "continue to elect by secret ballot, rank and file voting." (Incidentally, does ITT ever deplore the convention election process in the UAW?) And he ignored the McBride declaration that "we can no longer tolerate situations of using worker-produced capital against ourselves," a reference to the use of pension fund billions to finance the flight of industry to the non-union sunbelt (were this from Doug Fraser, ITT might have devoted a page of praise).

In short, your nameless commentator on Steelworker politics has joined the ranks of those who "...tend to admire the romantic spirit of labor's past, as evoked by Ed Sadiowski, but dislike its actual organized power and stability, as evoked by Lloyd McBride." (*Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 1977.)

Thoughtful readers of ITT, looking for objective and critical reporting, can well demand of their publication some reportorial honesty. Until then the "insurgent movement in the Steelworkers" will have to reside in the same looking glass as Michael Gillespie.

—Russell W. Gibbons
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Russ Gibbons also writes on the Steelworkers and labor. Under that name he is editor of *Steel Labor*, the USWA monthly publication.

DAVID VOGEL

Simple Simon: a Gramsci for the ruling class

THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY is currently mounting a major propaganda offensive. Its immediate purpose is political. Executives want to shift the political agenda away from the goals of consumer, environmental, civil rights and women's groups and to halt the momentum toward increased government regulation of business. Business maintains the dominance over government regulatory policy it has enjoyed during most of the post-war period, but its current campaign is not confined to conventional political techniques such as more sophisticated lobbying or more extensive fund-raising. It also includes an important ideological dimension.

Business has borrowed a key element of the political strategy of the New Left. Like many radicals during the '60s, executives believe that it is the political consciousness of the people that in the long run will determine the fate of American capitalism. Defeating the Consumer Protection Agency or the labor law reform bill are only stop-gap measures. To them it is more important to establish a climate of opinion in which restrictions on management prerogatives can not be seriously debated.

William Simon, investment banker and former Secretary of the Treasury (1974-1977), has aspirations of becoming the bourgeoisie's Gramsci. His current best-seller, *A Time for Truth*, is not striking for its hackneyed defense of free enterprise nor for the self-pitying account of



his efforts to cope with the energy crisis and New York City's impending bankruptcy. These are predictable, if mildly interesting. The book is an important political document because of its last chapter, "The Road to Liberty," which maps out a strategy for business to recapture control of the "marketplace of ideas" from the "moral and economic despots" who "constitute the vocal intellectual superstructure of this country."

Simon is convinced that the future of American business is in the hands of those who dominate the nation's universities, foundations, media and public sector bureaucracies. For too long, he argues, business has been indifferent to the importance of ideology; corporations have freely allowed society's non-productive institutions to espouse "anti-capitalist" or "collectivist" ideals. Simon believes that intellectual pluralism in America has gotten out of hand; the time has come for business more directly to control those who produce and distribute ideas.

How can business make capitalism the "dominant orthodoxy" it was 40 or 50

years ago, before the New Deal? Essentially by making wiser use of the one resource corporations still have in abundance, namely money. Simon proposes that business wage an aggressive "three-front" struggle focused on the institutions that are the leading proponents of "collectivism" and "economic authoritarianism," namely, the foundations, the universities and the media. The guiding principle of this campaign is simple: Corporations, business foundations and individual executives should give financial support exclusively to those "intellectuals and writers who are fighting" for the "survival of the capitalist world." Furthermore, corporations should not advertise in "anti-business" publications. Simon is convinced that this policy threatens neither academic freedom nor freedom of the press; all it does is give the "beleaguered" voices of "liberty" a chance to be heard.

Simon's program is consistent with the conventional wisdom of the business community. As Leonard Silk and I documented two years ago in *Ethics and Profits: The Crisis of Confidence in American Business*, all but a minority of corporate executives place the full blame for their poor public image on college professors and journalists; they are fully convinced that if only the public could learn the truth about how American capitalism really works, they would no longer support those who oppose business' political goals.

For nearly a decade, businessmen have found the state of public opinion terribly frustrating, but have been unable to figure out what to do about it. Now Simon's plan provides executives with a way of getting back at those whom they identify as the fundamental source of their problems.

What is one to make of all this? Business' current drive for ideological dominance evokes unpleasant memories of the '20s and '50s. Those decades of ideological and political repression each followed a period of relatively extensive political gains for non-business forces, not dissimilar to the last decade. But while we can look forward to an avalanche of books, magazines, research reports and conferences touting the virtues of free market economics, the influence and visibility of left-liberal ideas is likely to persist.

There are three reasons why we will not witness a repeat of the conservative intel-

lectual climate of the '20s or '50s—however much money corporations pour into right-wing scholarship. The first is that the performance of the American economy in the 1980s will remain far inferior to what it was during the other two decades. It is far more difficult convincingly to defend an economic system that is not delivering the goods than one which is. For an ideology to dominate it must bear some semblance to daily reality.

Secondly, what made the corporate repression of critical ideas during the '20s and '50s so effective was the ability of conservatives to link hostility to business with anti-Americanism. But even as tensions with the Soviet Union increase, no one—including Simon—is accusing the consumer or environmental movements of furthering the cause of global communist expansion. (On the contrary: The corporate community is itself the biggest supporter of détente.) The lack of an external "threat" to national security seriously limits the effectiveness of the repression of ideas critical of business.

The final difference is political. As long as either the Presidency or a majority of the Congress is controlled by liberal Democrats, the government is unlikely to allocate its considerable educational resources to Simon's criteria. It is one thing for corporations to cut off liberal institutions (obviously radicals are not used to extensive subsidies by corporations and foundations, in any event), but quite another for HEW or the National Science Foundation to commit itself to propagating the ideas of Milton Friedman.

But even if a conservative like Reagan or Simon were to be elected President, they would have a difficult time forcing the government's educational and research bureaucracies to deny grants to those who did not share their worship of American business. In a sense, Simon is half right: liberal ideology has become too firmly entrenched in too many important institutions for conservative business leaders to re-establish the hegemony that they once could take for granted.

David Vogel is an assistant professor at the School of Business Administration, University of California, Berkeley. His most recent book, *Lobbying the Corporation: Citizen Challenges to Business Authority*, will be published next month by Basic Books.

BOOKS

Long neglected, Eastman's time has come

CRYSTAL EASTMAN ON WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

Blanche Wiesen Cook, editor
Oxford University Press, 1978

Crystal Eastman was a pioneering American socialist feminist in the early 1900s. At the helm of the hopeful radical movements of the 'teens she pushed her synthetic view in campaigns for labor legislation, militant suffrage, birth control, peace and anti-militarism, even in such *outré* causes as what in the next decade would be somewhat innocuously called "companionate marriage." A young woman full of great expectation, Eastman lived joyously through these years, wisely taking pleasure in all signs of liberation, large and small, from the workers triumph in Russia to women's new short hair styles.

Her optimism was short-lived. In the '20s Eastman found herself struggling hard to survive the forced retrenchment of radicalism. On many issues she painfully parted ways with longtime friends and allies in the labor and women's movements. Swimming against the tide, she supported the equal rights amendment and remained an unrelenting advocate of workers' revolution. If anything, the decade's political decay made her cling more strongly than ever to her socialist feminist principles. Stricken with a fatal kidney ailment, Eastman finally found the time and saw the necessity to get her ideas on paper. In the 1920s, she kept the revolutionary vision alive, and in these last years of her life actually created a

style of feminist journalism still powerfully engaging today.

Blanche Wiesen Cook has collected Eastman's essays and supplied a solid historical context. Equally important, Cook suggests why Eastman, in her time a woman of international repute—indeed, prominent in radical circles as her better-remembered brother Max—is so unfamiliar to us today. "The neglect," Cook writes, "is partly explained by the fact that history tends to bury what it seeks to reject." Quite right. Had Eastman been a little more mainstream, or had she suffered a collapse of will in the 1920s instead of continuing undaunted, she would have become at least a stock character in the rise-and-fall-of-feminism melodrama that historians have heretofore found so appealing. As Cook notes, especially little of the socialist feminist tradition would be passed on in the years between the Red Scare and Cold War, at least in the official historical records.

But it is not too late to set the record straight. In compiling this anthology, Cook has provided scholars with an invaluable historical source. But, if given the opportunity, Eastman's message will reach far beyond the academy. Her intimate and fascinating accounts of women's treatment by the 1920s popular press and intellectual establishment, her comments on sex-role stereotyping as seen in her own children, her perceptive glances at such personalities as Rebecca West and Bertrand Russell—these and many others should captivate feminists who

might never approach a narrow, historical work.

The greatest lesson Crystal Eastman has to give us, however, is political. Despite overwhelming political and cultural reaction, despite her own failing health, she had the courage to push on. As Cook says, "Crystal Eastman left us the

legacy of her life, her determination and her work. Her vision, lost for so long, enables us to build with more clarity." Well said.

—Mari Jo Buhle

Mari Jo Buhle teaches women's history and is finishing a book on the history of women and American socialism, 1870-1920.

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PERSPECTIVES

American socialism: an extended process of piecemeal change

BY SEYMOUR S. BELLIN & S.M. MILLER

THE FOLLOWING IS A CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION on an American-style socialism begun by Leland Stauber's three-part series, "For a Socialism That Works" (May 3, 10 and 17). We invite others to contribute to the discussion. Stauber's articles and the responses by John H. Brown (May 31), Charles F. Lindblom (July 5) and John Hardesty (Aug. 9) are available upon request for \$1.50. ¶Two important practical and interrelated issues face any discussion of socialism in the United States. One is the appropriate form for running enterprises to public rather than private purposes. The second

how to get change, the so-called "transition to socialism." What is produced, how it is produced, with what consequences for community life and economic and political democracy are the important questions that socialism must address. Consequently, it is not only the form of property that is involved, but also the way power is experienced in the shop and in the community, and the effects of production on the well-being of people. We define well-being in broad terms rather than strictly by market criteria or by some simple minded calculation called the Gross National Product.

"Socialist enterprise" can take many forms, especially in the piecemeal activities of many transitional periods. The British Labour Party nationalized several entire industries but with minimal worker participation in their decisions. Gar Alperovitz and William Foote Whyte have advocated worker- or community-owned corporations. Such corporations could have varying degrees of operating control at the managerial level by workers or by the community. In Britain some influential Labourites have advocated workers' control even within private enterprises, making basic management decisions independent of share-holding. Control by workers rather than the ownership of property by the state, institutions, or individuals is what is sought. Stauber in *ITT* has recommended ways of developing social ownership, building on Yugoslav experience.

We must be realistic about what form is desirable by recognizing, as Lindblom points out (*ITT*, July 5), that the actual form adopted will depend upon specific historic, economic and political circumstances. It is important to learn how to adapt to changing conditions, so that planning does not become a rigid process, but a framework for effective evaluation and adoption of new methods. Clearly, the appropriate form cannot be defined completely in advance, even though it is important to have a sense of direction in order to win support and provide a framework of action.

We should avoid a utopian view of what a socialist enterprise will be able to do. No social system is able to avoid contradictions, antagonisms and tensions. A decentralized socialist system has to weigh national against local priorities, as in the Yugoslav case. Enterprise profitability and reinvestment compete with wages, to some extent pitting the short-run against the long-run. Or, there may be tension between what is desirable for a group of workers and what is useful for the enterprise, community, the region, consumers, or nation.

We ourselves favor decentralized community- or worker-control with strong elements of work humanization usually

ignored in control-programs. We also favor a profound recommitment to political democracy and liberty. We do recognize, however, tensions in linking internal plant democracy and community autonomy to national macro-planning and greater equality.

Some advocate a planning from below where local enterprises make their plans with the national plan built around them. This approach has many agreeable aspects. It is also practical in many ways. But at times there may be important issues on which national plans have to shape local activities; e.g., in developing major new industrial programs or in reducing regional inequalities. The decentralized model is incomplete without a delineation of appropriate national action.

While social scientists have written extensively on organizations, they have given us little on how to build flexible organizations under government, worker or community control. A sociology of socialist organization is needed, one that welds together nonmarket criteria, national objectives, productivity and decentralization in new organizational designs. An attractive and effective form of socialist economic organization is an important element in winning political support for socialism.

The second issue, the "transition to socialism," is more difficult and more immediate. It involves relating current possibilities and activities to a broader vision of modern socialism.

While the French and Italian communist and socialist parties have grappled with the issue of transitions to socialism and have developed short-run strategies, the left in the U.S. has had much more trouble in thinking about the issue. This is not necessarily to espouse the Western Europe approaches, but to recognize the importance of having a practical political and economic approach as well as a theoretical outlook. Discussion in the U.S. is stunted by a simple-minded attitude toward "reformism"—embracing or rejecting it wholesale—reflecting an anarchist or "anti-politics" inclination.

Three characteristics of a transition period are likely to be its slowness, its piecemeal nature, and its difficulties. We can expect it to be a long period of slow, and sometimes quickened, change. The long transition will shape what follows. A socialist transformation will not be a moment but a stretched-out period of initiatives, resistances, adjustments, pressures, contradictions. It will be particularly long in the U.S., a profoundly conservative nation with short, infrequent liberal remissions.

Our view, consequently, is one of "episodic cumulation." In moments of disturbance, opening or crisis, some gains can be won in changing institutions and con-

sciousness. Although the changes may erode, over time they may exert a cumulative impact. In some periods, large-scale gains may be won. Even when there is a decisive movement toward what might be termed socialism, it will be a long time before socialism is fully developed. In any case, "socialism" will always be changing and growing. Thus, what we envision as socialism is not a once-and-for-always step but a long-term process of transformations, including changes within that stage called socialism.

Change will be largely piecemeal, a firm becoming a cooperative here, a firm or industry nationalized there. In this situation, it is important to distinguish between those activities that strengthen the capitalist system and those likely to change it drastically.

The experience of nationalization in Western countries provides some leads. The British practice of taking over some leading industries, usually those in decline, reveals some of the difficulties in what might be called "capitalist nationalization" as distinguished from "socialist nationalization." In the British scene, capitalist nationalization involved pricing the products of nationalized firms and industries, as in the coal and steel industries, so as to subsidize capitalist enterprises, increasing the profits of private firms rather than passing along lower prices to ultimate consumers or higher wages to workers. Thus, who benefits from production and pricing is significant. Again, there is a tension between benefiting the wage earners and the ultimate consumers.

A related issue is whether or not the cooperative or nationalized firm is run in ways distinctly different from those under capitalist control. In the UK, the original Labour notion was to organize nationalized industries so that they were run strictly on business criteria with a professionalized and insulated management negotiating with unions like any private enterprise. This seems a very limited step to-

wards a socialist society.

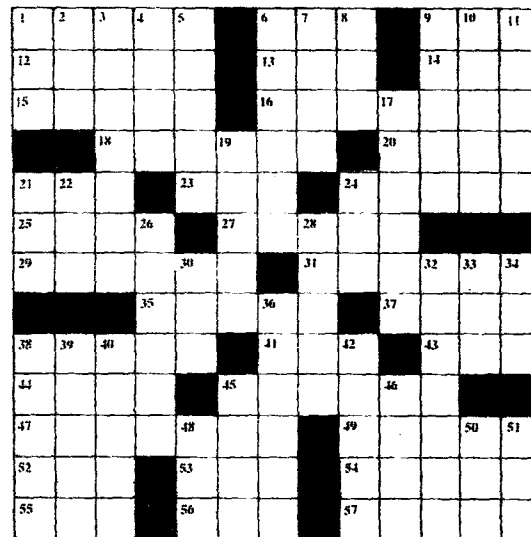
As the Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange pointed out four decades ago, nationalized and state ownership in capitalist societies have earned a bad reputation because they have chiefly taken over ailing firms. Certainly, nationalization is critically and negatively viewed, not only in the U.S. but in the UK and Italy as well. Worker and community cooperatives may face similar problems. This is a great issue of slow piecemeal change.

Non-cataclysmic change requires changing peoples' consciousness to a much greater extent than does the strategy of waiting for or fomenting an apocalyptic moment of revolutionary transformation. In a situation of slow, continuing difficulties or not much improvement, issues of ideological hegemony are central.

Calling for new forms of property control means raising issues which can be disturbing to many Americans because of their doubts about government activity. We have to think about new forms of control, forms which are likely to be attractive and efficient, avoiding the rigidities of bureaucratic structures.

In the U.S., as in Sweden and elsewhere, the possibility of new property arrangements arises from the threat of unemployment, resulting from corporate investment and disinvestment decisions. That points to the attractiveness of worker and community cooperatives as a response to plant shutdowns, though making them work economically and democratically will not be easy. But that is where the action now is in the U.S., and such cooperatives should be encouraged and aided. At least, they should help clarify the vision of the kind of socialism we seek—egalitarian, communitarian, non-alienating, offering both security and democracy.

Seymour S. Bellin chairs the Sociology Department at Tufts University. S.M. Miller is Professor of Sociology and Economics at Boston University.



56 Range
57 Passover dinner

DOWN

- 1 Controversial aircraft, for short
- 2 ____ loss (stumped)
- 3 Vulture's meal
- 4 Hayworth
- 5 Paradises
- 6 Where the James flows
- 7 Turkish ruler
- 8 Defeated
- 9 Systems of signals
- 10 Celebes oxen
- 11 British soldier
- 17 Mourn
- 19 Italian highway
- 21 Inquire
- 22 RR stop
- 24 Vane direction
- 26 Classify
- 28 Within
- 30 Likely
- 32 Greet, as a performer
- 33 Stag's spouse
- 34 Cleopatra's nemesis
- 36 Site of limestone caverns
- 38 Roles
- 39 Notions
- 40 Disembarks
- 42 Layers
- 45 Snick's partner
- 46 Amaryllis relation
- 48 Sort
- 50 Mao ____ Tung
- 51 Poetic contraction

A Stately Challenge

By Jay Shepherd

ACROSS

- 1 ____ Coeur, Parisian landmark
- 6 Flowery moisture
- 9 Maltese or Abyssinian
- 12 Conservative
- 13 I love, to Catullus
- 14 Beatle Lennon's wife
- 15 French pastry item
- 16 Realm
- 18 Bitterness
- 20 Paper unit
- 21 "____ Lay Dying" (Faulkner)
- 23 Drunkard
- 24 Across Spacek
- 25 Greek portico
- 27 Levitate
- 29 Wizard of Oz locale
- 31 Gambler's turf
- 35 What the dish ran away with
- 37 Anthology, of sorts
- 38 Drive
- 41 Soak, as flax
- 43 Verve
- 44 Hebrew month
- 45 Consecutive

- 47 Letting, as rooms
- 49 Inspire with joy
- 52 Small measure
- 53 Astrological lion
- 54 Awaken
- 55 WWII draft group

Answer to last week's puzzle:



CONDO

Continued from page 13.

Bank, explains, "there's money to be made, lots of money, quicker, easier money." While it is difficult to get real estate investors to reveal their profit margins, it is clear that enormous sums can be reaped. Profits of 15 to 25 percent on investment seem to be a bare minimum. Reports of profits of 50 percent, 200 percent, even 500 percent on buildings were common from planners, bankers and housing experts interviewed.

Nicholas J. Helmer, a director of the Chicago Real Estate Board, gave a typical example, based on a 26-unit building recently converted. For a half million dollars the converter acquired the building. The units were sold at \$58,000 each, giving a margin of a million dollars. Even allowing for extensive rehabilitation, that left a profit in the vicinity of a quarter million dollars. Since the converter might be able to get the loan for as little as 10 percent investment of his own money (or even less) that would mean a profit on the investment of roughly 160 percent.

When returns of 10 to 12 percent on investment in stocks or rental real estate have been considered fairly reasonable, perhaps there's no reason to look farther. But other pressures in the housing market have played a role. Take, for example, the skyrocketing cost of new houses (caused primarily by higher interest rates, and rising land and material costs). Condominiums permit a young family to own a home for perhaps \$30,000, much less than they might pay in a new suburban development, even though the cost per square foot is higher.

Public policies, especially on taxes, also encourage condominium conversion. "It's very simply federal, state, city and county policy that home ownership is to be favored," condo and apartment developer Louis Silverman says. "The corollary of this policy is that people are subsidized for owning rather than renting. There are also substantial incentives for selling apartment buildings rather than renting." Because condominium owners receive the same income tax deductions as homeowners, a benefit unavailable to renters, they can afford to pay out more each month for the same housing. The government tax subsidy is greater the higher one's income tax bracket. The tax subsidy can be seen, however, as going to the condominium converter and just channeled through the buyer.

There are also tax "disincentives" for renting. The 1972 tax reform eliminated the rapid depreciation allowance for old apartment buildings, making it less appealing for someone to buy a rental building, hold it a few years for the tax breaks, then resell it to another landlord.

Conversion to condominiums is attractive to the speculator because all of the risk is shifted to the individual buyers. The converter, unlike the apartment owner, has no long-term responsibilities. He can quickly get his money out and into another venture. There is continued pressure generated by the real estate market to turn over transactions, just as automobile manufacturers want to sell more cars. Anyone who uses his or her car or house a long time after paying it off isn't a source of profit. Banks, realtors and others make more money if the circulation of housing in the market is quick.

Converters of condominiums tend to downplay their own profits, however, and rest their case on other arguments. Condos are necessary because they can't make money renting, some say. Or, they say, the only way to rehabilitate old housing is through conversion. And besides, it's good for the neighborhood to increase home ownership, others add.

Let's consider these arguments one at a time.

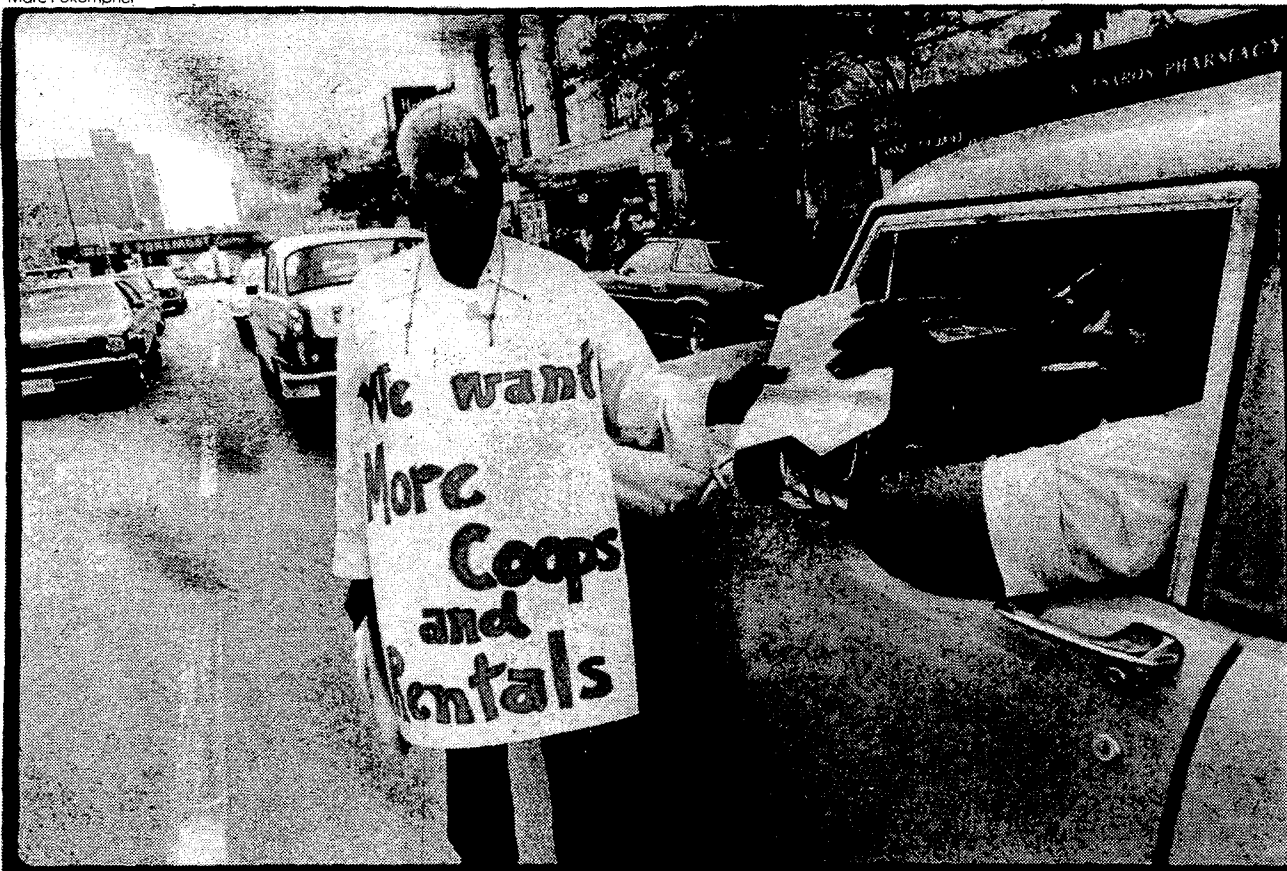
In recent years, bills for rental buildings, like those for homes, have gone up—fuel, utilities, taxes. At the same time there was a long, deep recession, making it hard to push up rents rapidly. Besides, the rental market was still open, since the housing boom of the late '60s and early '70s still had residual effects. Overall rents in the U.S. increased to 153.5 in 1977 on an index where 1967 is represented by 100. The consumer price index increased over the same period to 181.5. In some cases landlords who were faced with a squeeze on income chose to forego maintenance or not pay taxes, sending the building into a spiral of decay. Many simply decided to "milk" their properties this way because it was more profitable.

But even though the years 1973-75 may have been tight for some landlords, the situation has changed in the past two years. Occupancy rates are much lower, making it possible for landlords to earn returns in the range of 12 to 15 percent again, plus the rapidly appreciating value of their property and their tax shelters.

Even if landlords aren't generally driven out of rentals by loss of money as much as they are drawn out by hope of greater gain with condos, condominiums are sometimes defended as the only way to save deteriorating buildings. In many aging, low to moderate income neighborhoods, there is less fear of the impact of condominiums than appreciation of the vote of confidence in the community that they represent.

The draft version of the Hyde Park CHOICE study

Marc Pokempner



reluctantly concludes that rehabilitation of older apartments is profitable as condominiums but less so as rental apartments, except at prohibitively high rents. The only other alternative would be some new form of ownership. Since condominium owners pay more—and can afford to because of their higher incomes and tax deductions—the rehabilitation cost can be more easily recovered. But rental rehabilitation is hampered by condominium speculation that drives up the cost of acquiring buildings and competes for investment dollars.

The plight of some neighborhoods and buildings obscures the realization that "most buildings don't need major rehabilitation," according to Michael Pensack, chairman of the Tenants Organization of Evanston, a north Chicago suburb that recently initiated a moratorium on condominium conversion. "It might be nice, but it doesn't have to be done all at once, overnight." Condominium sales may require such an undertaking, including structurally unnecessary expenses like sandblasting, but a rental building could be improved bit by bit over the years.

What about the argument that condos strengthen a neighborhood by increasing the number of homeowners? Although the intrinsic social worth of home ownership is exaggerated, in any case, within a few years after conversion, nearly half of all condominium units are owned by absentee landlords who rent them out. Dowden of the Community Associations Institute calls it a "major problem. What I sense happening," he says, "is the landlord of a hundred units is being replaced by 50 landlords of two units."

Meanwhile the rental price in the condominium has been boosted by the multiple transactions and large profit margins. Rents on remaining rental buildings are driven up as the market tightens. "As conversion continues to happen," Helmer says, "your rental properties will become more viable. They'll demand the rents that will force the construction of rental housing. Developers will switch to rental construction. There may even be conversions of condominiums to rentals. It's not as ludicrous as it sounds. Certainly there will be an increase of investor-owned condominiums."

So the cycle goes. Prices driven higher, lives and communities disrupted. People driven out of neighborhoods like Hyde Park are told by speculators to find places to live in neighborhoods abandoned by bankers and the well-to-do. When these people, who may displace poor people, have made those neighborhoods attractive for upper income whites, there will be a new wave of condominium conversion or another form of gentrification.

Does it have to be that way? Not necessarily. There are a variety of ways for government at different levels to stimulate construction of rental housing or to construct a wide range of public housing. It's also possible for the government to redistribute income so that people in lower income brackets don't have to pay over a quarter of their income for housing, as nearly a fifth of all U.S. households do now. Undertaken seriously, these measures would threaten the capitalist housing market and the labor market. And they aren't likely to be enacted soon. Yet there are steps that can be taken by municipalities, states and even voluntary organizations to remedy the condominium ills. In several cities there have been condominium moratoriums. But moratoriums or other special restrictions can be automatically triggered whenever the rental vacancy level in a city or neighborhood drops below some figure, such as 5 percent. In some instances, half or two-thirds of tenants have to agree on conversion before it can occur. Displacement payments for the elderly, handicapped and others are charged to the converter in some cases. The impact of condominium conversion can also be lessened by extending the notification time or by requiring a set percentage of units be retained as rental.

But the real challenge comes in providing an alternative, one that is based on new forms of ownership. One model offered by housing consultant Rosser of the Woodstock Institute is the "community trust" that would buy up and operate properties for the commun-

ity good, accumulating capital as necessary to expand its ownership but taking housing out of the profit and commodity cycle.

Yet there is also a method used with great success in many parts of the country already: the limited equity, consumer cooperative, also referred to as low- or middle-income coops or FHA coops. Although the rules can be drawn up in many ways, the "Evergreen" coop on 53rd Street in Hyde Park provides a good model of what such a coop can mean in older, multifamily housing.

Unlike a condominium (or the luxury cooperatives), new members of the coop have to apply to the governing body of the coop in order to get an apartment, not simply buy it on the market. There is no absentee ownership. Each person has a vote in the monthly meetings and is expected to pitch in with general housekeeping and repairs of the old three-story building. Members pay only \$100 as a membership fee when they move in, and they get roughly the same back when they leave. They do not take out a mortgage, with all the expense of refinancing, because the coop holds the mortgage. By cutting out some of the bank's profit, and the landlord's profit and by carefully maintaining their home, the Evergreen members pay only \$208 a month for a three-bedroom apartment that costs \$350 in a similar building around the corner.

"People who organize condominiums are developers, builders, people who want to make a lot of money," Ernie Eden, executive director of the National Association of Housing Cooperatives, said. "The people who start low and middle income coops want a place to live for the rest of their lives at a modest price and have control over their housing. This is organization for service." As a result there are few entrepreneurs setting up cooperatives. Some builders have created new low-income cooperatives because of access to federal funds. In some cases technical service organizations, charging only a fee for service, help to organize coops so that they will be legally and financially sound. Community groups, churches, or even specially chartered groups such as a community trust, could become "entrepreneurs" who help to establish a coop, then leave it to the self-government of the members under terms that serve both residents and the whole community.

In the past banks have been reluctant to finance cooperatives, partly because they're suspect as non-profit-making and because they're a corporation without assets and without personal liabilities of the members. But the Federal Housing Authority guarantees cooperative loans, which can be obtained with as little as 2 percent down payment. Now, with the passage of the Consumer Cooperative Bank bill, nearly one billion dollars in credit for housing coopeatives should become available within a few years. That alone could finance at least 50,000 new cooperative units, but more important it may—as farm credit legislation in the 1930s did for agricultural cooperatives—open up a larger pool of conventional financing.

Consumer benefits would be enormous, especially by comparison with the impact of condominiums. "The unit can be delivered cheaper, because they don't have to pay the middleman," Julius Yacker, an attorney specializing in cooperative law, says. "The coop costs of converting may be similar but without the converter's markup of maybe \$5,000-\$10,000 per unit. But people can understand condominiums better than coops, and there's not a lot of promotional money in coops—no speculative gains, just a fee. Who makes money on condos? Real estate agents, converters."

And banks—banks that rely on continual refinancing of loans to maximize profits. "A bank will not make money if it keeps a loan for 40 years," Ernie Eden explains. "They depend on a turnover every five years. Cooperatives could turn the whole economy upside down. One of the real economic advantages of coops is—let's say a bunch of people buy their coop in 1940 and borrow money at 3 percent and pay on that mortgage for

Continued on page 20.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

AMERICAN PASTIMES

Two players come back from sore arm, alcohol

By Barry Codell

FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICA'S diamond-gazers, baseball's lore has been its lore. The game has given its loyal public a giant helping of comedy and tragedy, reality and myth, innocence and scandal, unfolding drama and precious memory. A body of literature has risen to proclaim its philosophy, mathematics, even its poetry and dance.

Nestled proudly in its anecdotal arena are baseball's storied comebacks, those serials of men who, losing their physical gifts, move to the brink of big league extinction only to fly back to a soaring season.

What horsehide addict cannot recite the tales of Stan Musial or Willie McCovey sneering once again at Father Time as if facing a bush league righthander, to recapture their immortal swings for a final glorious campaign?

How about the journeys of Tony Conigliaro, returning from near blindness to slug 36 homers, or Tommy John, with transplanted tendons from the right arm fueling his bionic left-handed pitching to lead the Dodgers to the 1977 National League flag?

And who can dismiss that stirring "slugging back from the war" genre as portrayed by Hall of Fame blasters Hank Greenberg and Ted Williams?

Each year the National and American Leagues bestow the renowned "Comeback of the Year" award upon their most deserving Ulysses.

On the 1978 trail, however, baseball's tale of two comebacks has not leapt from the ashes of major league action.

Instead, two former Yankee all-star hurlers, long removed from major league mounds and statisticians' star charts, have forged unlikely reappearances.

The first doddering comeback kid is none other than the redoubtable James Alan Bouton, best-selling author and TV star, once known as the Baseball Establishment's chief provocateur.

Bouton's time warp pitching for the Atlanta Braves this September culminated a long comeback.

After topping the San Francisco Giants three to one on Sept. 8 in his second outing for the Braves for his first victory in eight years, Bouton joyously declared, "It's beyond belief. It's all coming back!"

After his third encouraging effort on Sept. 19, however, the critics began to self-destruct. Against Houston he matched the premier National League fireballer, J.R. Richard, pitch for pitch before departing after seven fine innings with a 2-2 score.

Bouton had to fling most of his comeback magic this season in the relative privacy of the Class AA Savannah, Ga., ball yard. Yet the impact of his 1978 accomplishments cannot be minimized.

Here was a man nearing 40 years of age, more than seven years after giving up the bat-and-glove ghost, selling home, devouring health concoctions, riding buses and serrating his fingernails to emerge as an aspiring butterfly-knuckleball pitcher.

Espousing all along the joys of existence above performance, Bouton seemed convincing when he spoke of minor league nirvana. "I'm not trying to get to the majors. It's sort of like Zen. I don't want to aim for the target. The way to hit it is not to aim for it. All I know is this experience has been satisfying in every respect. I know I've made the right decision whether or not I ever get any higher."



Baseball's comeback of the year award should go to two Yankee pitchers who beat the odds.

Bouton's hurling at Savannah became a mini-revelation. His flutterball under surprisingly good control, as well as an 11-7 won-lost mark with a two hit play-off shut-out thrown in, caught the fancy of maverick Atlanta Brave owner Ted Turner, and Bouton's return to the majors, despite charges of attendance-hyping, was as well earned as any Braves' prospect.

Bouton had been dismissed by that infamous bloc of spirit dampeners, the major league owners. Still seething from Bouton's astounding confessional, *Ball Four*, they each refused his offer to pay his own expenses for a tryout. His comeback trek began without any major league affiliation in 1977. That summer he pitched for Knoxville in Double A and was released after an 0-6 mark. He wandered to Durango, Mexico, where he compiled a 1-4 ledger before another release. He finished 1977 with a 5-1 mark at Portland in the lowest classification, Class A ball.

Preaching the gospel of the knuckleball, Bouton stuck with his claim that the more he pitched, the more the butterfly would jump. Gradually this season, Savannah's young prospects began to accept a 39-year-old non-conforming rookie as their guru.

The most convincing moment to them, and to Bouton, was when the parent Braves came to Georgia for an exhibition early this year. Bouton was hurling against big leaguers again, and although he hadn't thrown in a month, he baffled the Braves, striking out seven in six innings, and allowing but one run.

Bouton called it "my greatest day in a baseball uniform. That night was magic. Those kid pitchers who had thought I was some kind of pathetic old man, when they saw me control that game from the first, I know that every one of them would have liked to have been able to do what I

did with my stomach. My stomach was ice. That night was magic. I've had other great moments, but that night I felt I was omnipotent, and once you've done that you've got to think you can be magic again."

That Bouton could speak so earnestly about his greatest thrill while wearing a Savannah Braves uniform, shows the iconoclast inside.

Fifteen years before, he had been drinking World Series champagne after fast-balling away the St. Louis Cardinals before 70,000 Yankee Stadium worshippers. In 1963, he won 21 games for the Bronx Bombers, pitching with his peerless intensity and enthusiasm.

By 1966, though, he was a 4-15 sore-armed thrower, and by 1969, was using his golden right arm to write of Mickey Mantle running around the bases hung-over.

At the end of that "first major league career," he was experimenting with the knuckleball, a pitch difficult to hit, and even more difficult to toss. Its saving grace is its lack of strain upon the arm, which explains the success of such grandfatherly knuckleballers as Hoyt Wilhelm, Wilbur Wood and Phil Niekro (Bouton's geriatric, knuckling twin at Atlanta).

What gratified Bouton most during his minor-league incarnation was the common fan's response. He was certainly the "people's pitcher." He received ovations from crowds even after being shelled from games. It was as if fans identified with his heroic attempt to show it's never too late to begin again.

While followers of the sport were enjoying Bouton's comeback, they were equally surprised by the evidence of another type of comeback by another Yankee, the legendary flame-throwing relief ace, Ryne Duren.

Duren's comeback provokes an aston-

Ryne Duren as a Yankee pitcher and reformed alcoholic.



ishment of its own. For Duren, in his recent book, *The Comeback*, has detailed a hell of alcoholism from which he has ascended so admirably.

The picture of Ryne Duren with his famous thick-lensed glasses, throwing bullets near batters' heads becomes even more frightening as Duren openly reveals his drunkenness while pitching.

Duren spares the reader neither graphic scenes of his torture, nor his strong indictments of baseball's glorification of alcohol.

He speaks of that camaraderie that players have been conditioned to believe is possible only when accompanied by great quantities of booze. He recalls the stupors, the brawls and the insults, without shame or sensationalism, but with an appeal to the lords of baseball to clean up their act.

Duren, now director of the alcoholic Rehabilitation Program at Stoughton Community Hospital in Stoughton, Wisc., believes that "someone has got to tell these kids that the beer at the ballpark, the beer they see advertised between innings, is a drug. Baseball, like the rest of our society, is ignorant of the issues being dealt with here."

Blessed with the surreal combination of blinding fastball and near blindness, Duren inspired fear in opposing batters with his wildness. He had a sensational rookie year in 1958 with the Yanks, fanning 87 batters in 75 innings, with an earned run average of 2.02. He made the American League All-Stars the next season, yet all the while was sinking deeper into his alcoholic abyss.

Duren became a baseball nomad, pitching for seven different clubs, desperately trying to regain his pitching control while losing control over his life.

After a singularly horrendous venture for the Washington Senators against his old Yankee teammates in 1965, Duren found himself climbing to the top of a Washington bridge, shouting. Police tried to talk him down. Finally, his manager, Gil Hodges, came in a squad car and managed to persuade Duren to come down. A week later the Senators gave Ryne his unconditional release.

What followed was a nightmare. Lost without baseball, he faced more suicide attempts and shame-filled incidents, always to the chilling tune of wild drunkenness.

Finally, Duren was able to comprehend the depth of his need for professional help, and to realize the extent of his craving for "this drug." It has been over ten years since taking his last drink.

The Comeback, written from Duren's soul, gives both eloquent warning and hope, and, like Jim Bouton's classic, is a significant addition to the literature of American sport.

And, although baseball is not about to handle the presentations, Jim Bouton and Ryne Duren deserve this season's "Comeback of the Year" awards, hands down.

Barry Codell is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

Clamshell action

Continued from page 7.

Prior to Sept. 25, Boston Clamshell planned an action where demonstrators would chain themselves to the main gate. This was planned to take place at a non-shift change time, so as not to block workers' access to the site (a Clamshell guideline). On Sept. 24, however, Boston Clam discovered that workers come onto the site at all times; it would therefore have been impossible for Boston to proceed with its planned demonstration and still remain within the overall Clam guidelines.

Many Boston Clams opposed the planned shape of the earlier action, which they saw as a purely symbolic—and thus ineffective—measure. In view of the widespread reservations, it was decided on Sept. 25 to change the demonstration's focus to a more militant attempt to halt construction. Ironically, the Clam guidelines—attacked by many for being too conservative—formed the partial vehicle for the radicalization of the Oct. 7 action.

But with barely a week and a half to go, not a few Clams felt it was too late to organize a successful direct action wave. Others felt that, for such actions to succeed, it would necessarily have to be larger than the scope of the waves allowed. Meanwhile, support appears to be growing, at least in some quarters, for a mass direct action occupation of the site.

In the end, the Oct. 7 demonstration was advertised as a "non-violent direct action." But the indecision over the nature of the action reflects, in part, the philosophical debate currently going on within Clamshell over the relative merits of direct action and civil disobedience.

At the most recent Clams for Democracy conference, direct action was defined as "acting for ourselves without appealing to or recognizing the legitimacy of state or corporate authority; direct action does not depend on media coverage for its effectiveness because it accomplishes undeniable and concrete change: stopping construction." In this view, civil disobedience is defined as appealing to someone else to remedy the problem demanding solution; it thus has "inherent limitations in that it legitimizes the structures of authority and control which direct action intends to supplant."

On the one hand, there are widespread fears that the media is beginning to ignore the relatively small-size wave actions. On the other, there are many Clams, at least in Boston, who feel that the press has given a very distorted picture of Clamshell activities. Many of these would probably agree with the Clams for Democracy statement, "It's more important to develop respect with each other than with the media." As Maureen Blasco put it, "Do we define the effectiveness of what

we do in terms of how much media coverage we get, or are there other considerations?"

These "other considerations" include the strengthening of the local affinity group structure, a structure that has been the foundation of Clamshell's support from the beginning. The affinity group decision-making process—which required the consensus of all Clams before any major actions could be undertaken—was wounded by the Coordinating Committee's decision to go legal. By having each affinity group determine its own course of action—as long as it stayed within the Clamshell guidelines—the waves were designed to decentralize this process once again. It was felt that the whole of Clam would be strengthened as a result.

Designed from the start to be small-scale in orientation, the waves have put the onus of organization on individual affinity groups. Consequently, many Clams have newly-found skills and self-confidence. And they are beginning to work on local public education and outreach. At this level the wave strategy appears to be succeeding. But whether other, better, means could have been found to reach the same ends is an open issue.

Where is Clamshell going? Right now, this is a question that most Clams are hard pressed to answer.

Perhaps Clam organizer Court Dorsey expressed the dilemma best when he told IN THESE TIMES, "We're in a transitional period right now. During the first stage of Clamshell's growth, it grew very quickly in a short period of time. We're at the point now where that first stage of our growth and development has just come to a rest. And we're right about to begin a whole new stage. But that hasn't really begun yet, and so we're in a position now of having to reflect, to take stock of the whole situation and see what kind of approach is really going to be most effective."

"It's hard to exactly understand what's happening because that's the nature of the organization at this point. It's like growing pains. It can be a very healthy period."

"My personal feeling is that always before when consensus has broken down, the commitment to fight nuclear power has been the one unifying force that was so strong that it was able to bring us together through all the difficulties. And I have the feeling that that same thing is going to happen again. But when we do, we may be quite different as an organization than we were before."

Duncan Harp is a free-lance writer in Cambridge, Mass., who is a member of Clams for Democracy.

CONDO

Continued from page 18.

years. Just because a new person moves in doesn't mean they have to pay new, higher mortgage rates, points, broker fees and all the rest. You can take housing out of the speculative spiral." Coop attorney Herbert Fisher puts it another way. An "entirely new concept of real estate" develops as decisions are not made on the basis of market value, but rather, he says, on the question, "What is the value of using (as opposed to owning) this property?" He describes the process as placing a use-value instead of a speculative value on ownership.

With that comes more security for low

and middle income people, stabler communities, lower housing expenses and valuable lessons in self-government and democracy. Given a choice between a coop and a condominium, the vast majority of apartment residents would probably prefer the coop. But few of them have that choice. Condominiums are pressed upon them by profit-maximizing investors. In the elaborate class conflict of the condominium controversy, co-ops, community trusts and other new forms of non-speculative real estate ownership are at least as valuable and important to the vast majority of city dwellers as unions are to workers on the job.

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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Diane Keaton broods about life and art in empty *INTERIORS*.Anguished *Interiors* no joke

INTERIORS

Written and directed by Woody Allen

With Diane Keaton, E.G. Marshall, Geraldine Page, Maureen Stapleton, and others
United Artists

As I stood on line outside the theater waiting to see *Interiors*, Woody Allen's latest film, a woman emerging from the previous show turned to her companion and said, "Janice, it's only 8:30! I thought we'd been in there at least three hours."

Interiors is that kind of movie: from its first frame it seems interminable. Its banality is so profound that everything in and around it is struck dead. Strong performers are overwhelmed by dreadful dialogue, by the kind of artsy direction that confuses heavy breathing for acting, by lugubriously unsympathetic camera work and by the embarrassment of living in a cinema world in which all thought and feeling are reduced to cliché. A lot of nervous laughter came from the audience at the showing I saw, almost as if people were saying, "Woody, you can't really be serious."

Serious, though, is exactly what Woody turns out to be. In this, the film represents a major departure for Allen. The film deals not with the insecurities of Allen's upwardly mobile Jewish *schlemiel* but with the unhappy, unfulfilling lives of a *haute bourgeois* family of New York Wasps.

The action centers around a decision by the father (a lawyer played, of course, by E.G. Marshall) to divorce the interior-decorator mother (Geraldine Page), after a lengthy separation which she had always imagined would be temporary. He wants to marry another woman (Maureen Stapleton) whom the three daughters (Diane Keaton, a poet, Kristin Griffith, a TV actress, and Marybeth Hurt, youngest and daddy's favorite who has not yet found herself) find unspeakably vulgar. While mother has structured a world in which colors range only from nutmeg to cinnamon, the Stapleton character enters wearing a shockingly red dress. Where mother has a fine eye for a Ming vase, the new woman has a sharp eye for card tricks.

Clearly something has got to give. On her wedding night Stapleton accidentally breaks a vase which had ponderously been in-

troduced for that purpose by the mother at the beginning of the film. Shortly thereafter, mother takes her leave via the ocean and is swallowed up by the elements.

Allen and cinematographer Gordon Willis lay on a thick veneer of Nordic monochromy to make the film look important, to cajole the audience into thinking its message to be of consequence. The film is a virtual compendium of pseudo-Berlinesque touches and drips with empty images.

And yet the film is most uncinematic. It does not show things so much as explain them, comments about them. Marybeth Hurt spends the entire picture talking about what to do with her life, wearing an expression of unrelenting angst, yet we get Keaton's commentary that Hurt's trouble is that she has "all the anguish and anxiety of the artistic personality with none of the talent." Even Hurt is forced to put it into words: "I feel a real need to express something but I don't know what it is I want to express or how to express it."

The curriculum of *Interiors* is promotion of its own seriousness. But at the core, the film does not really seem to know what it is about. Of course it is "about" love, death, life, creativity and a slew of other Big Themes, but it approaches them backwards.

Rather than observing genuine, knowable people intimately to show the depths beneath life's daily reality, Allen arranges elements from life to create the illusion of depth—like one of Geraldine Page's bare interiors. The mother, who in a dramatic sense might be said to be at the center of the action, is too thinly drawn to justify all the fuss. Instead of dealing with the character, the film simply deals in convention. Thus, it is propelled by a kind of sophomoric determinism in which its characters are imprisoned in the most debased stereotypes.

The poet has lesbian friends; the drifting, self-hating youngest child wears rimless glasses and dresses badly; the actress wears no bra and takes cocaine. There are no surprises, since none of the characters actually think—they just spin out one platitude after another. "Political activity is not my interest, I'm too self-centered." "I can't seem to shake the real implication of dying—it's terrifying." "Inside your sick psyche is a sick soul." *Interiors*

simply has no interior.

The choice of *Interiors'* pale and austere atmosphere was obviously not whimsical. For Allen, austerity is the emblem of seriousness, as if weighty matters could only be exposed in an atmosphere of extreme refinement, and as if the suggestion of fecundity and warmth were inimical to the exercise of the intellect. With the exception of Maureen Stapleton's wonderful embodiment of life force, all the characters are bloodless and unattractive. The division is clear: fecundity stands for feelings and austerity for mind. In the camp of the fecund resides humor and so Allen strives mightily to keep the picture completely humorless.

What makes the comedies of Woody Allen marvelous is that he treats—especially in a film like *Annie Hall*—his own attitudes as clichés. Allen has a wonderful eye for the ludicrous in the everyday lives of certain kinds of people, and for the laughable and ridiculous in our favorite urban neuroses. He has never been afraid to ridicule his worst fears—and ours.

Interiors presents precisely the same clichés but without irony, without humor.

Still, after seeing Allen's comedies, 90 percent of the lines sound funny. Maureen Stapleton's first dozen lines, for example, are a virtual encyclopedia of low comedy "vulgar woman" statements. She has to reel off the likes of, in a discussion about Greece, "If you've seen one good ruin you've seen them all"; and in a discussion of cuisine, "Give me a good sirloin steak any time." At one point Diane Keaton announces meaningfully to her heavy drinking failed-novelist husband, "I just experienced the strangest sensation." He replies, "You look kind of pale." What the old Woody would have done with a line like that!

Some years ago, Allen made a picture called *What's Up Tiger Lily* in which he superimposed an English soundtrack on a Japanese spy movie with hilarious results. This raises very suggestive possibilities for *Interiors*. If the film could be redubbed, even with the same script read a bit differently, it might make a pretty funny movie. The only alternative would be to dub it into Swedish.

—Michael Sorkin

Michael Sorkin is a free-lance writer living in New York.

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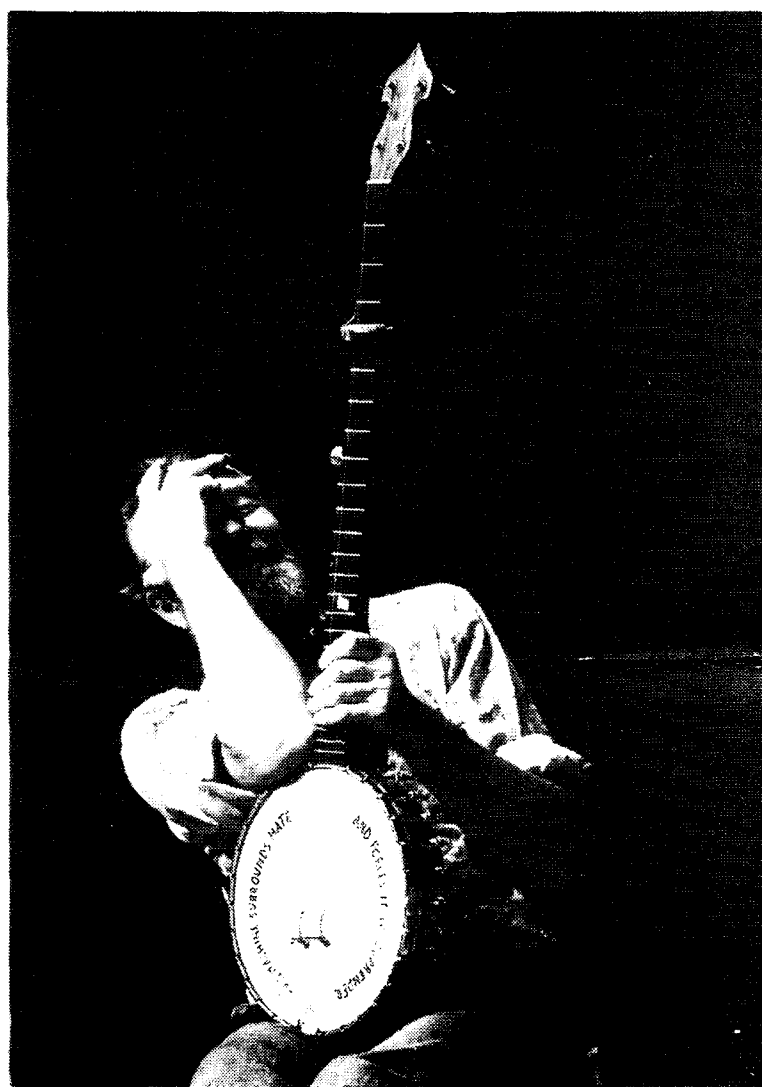
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FILM

Days of Heaven makes despair look gorgeous

Photos/Edie Baskin

Days of Heaven, Terrence Malick's film about turn-of-the-century "bindlestiffs" or migrant laborers, has been widely lauded as a visual masterpiece. Some say each sequence is like a painting. No, say others, each frame implies the cinematic movement of a scene. Two of the finest cinematographers in the business—Haskell Wexler and Nestor Almendros—worked with the fanatically meticulous Malick (*Badlands*) to make it happen, and the film amplifies the images with the crispest and deepest of natural sounds on the Dolby track.

Well, it certainly is the prettiest durned view of grim misery. But it makes you wonder, when a film this full of magic is also this depressing. The visual and aural beauty—at times hypnotic, and others ecstatic—makes the plot more believable. It gives the movie and the characters a tragic tone and a measured pace. And what happens to those people is not tragic—it's just awful.

A young Chicago worker (Richard Gere, looking like a stunned bull throughout), his lover (Brooke Adams) and his kid sister (Linda Manz) hit the road after he has a bloody fight with his foreman at the steel factory. They sign up for a summer's worth of work in a Texas wheat field. The work is hard, and they hate it, but they're young. Then the fatally-ill field owner (Sam Shepard) falls in love with the young woman and the Gere character convinces her to marry the farmer and make them all rich.

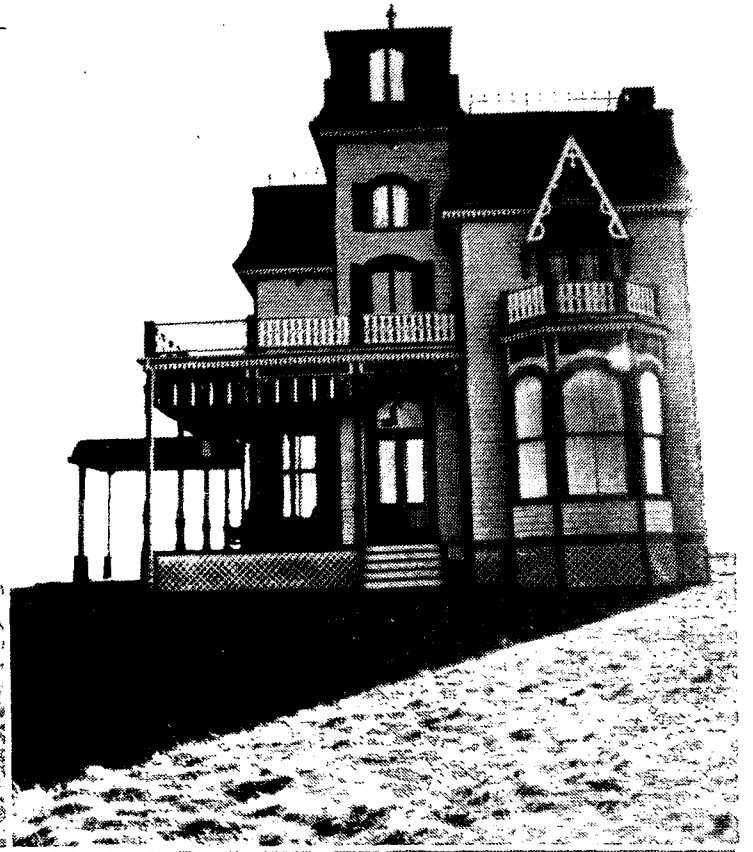
She hates it, but does it. Gradually she falls in love with the farmer, and her ex-lover must leave. When he returns, the farmer—desperately fighting off a plague of grasshoppers—loses control and menaces him. This brings on a series of disasters in which the fields all burn, the farmer and the Gere character both die, and the kid sister runs off for a scrabbling life on the road.

What you remember as you walk away are not, however, the crises in the plot. You remember the itchy feeling on your neck when grasshoppers in close-up chomp on a stalk of wheat; the shock of being eye-to-eye with bison on the prairie; the secret thrill of watching a huge fire; and the cracked, flat, dismal voice of the young girl. The wonder of the film is indeed in the cinematography and the soundtrack.

Shall we dismiss the story as a vehicle for the pictures, as a sad tale of young adventurers come to a bad end? No, because Malick has ambition. He has "something to say."

His chosen narrator, the child who speaks with the tired wisdom of a crone, makes a stream of religious references in the film. She talks about people being divided into half devil and half angel. She dwells on temptation and salvation. She searches for an explanation for the misery she lives and the horrors she must watch. She tries to justify the disastrous actions of her brother and his lover.

In short, she doggedly struggles to find a moral position in an amoral world. But her struggle is hopeless. By the end, it's like watching a laboratory animal fight to find a way out of a



Clockwise: Newlyweds in the wheatfields; their lonely home, the young-old urchin who tells the tale.

The prairie fire, filmed at night by torch light, sweeps away their last hope.

box whose air supply has been cut off. The world is without morals, and cynicism is her only protection.

That struggle for a morality, for a meaning, and for just a little of what you want in a world that doesn't make sense is a familiar theme to Malick. *Badlands* too—bold, beautiful, chilling—raised questions about morality and responsibility.

There, narration contrasted sharply with the seen story. In this film too, the cracked, flat voice of the girl contrasts with the lyric and brutal emotions packed into the scenes. But more important, the people and their problems are contrasted with the visual display, with the majestic drama and beauty of the world.

The wheatfields, the gigantic harvesting machinery towering over the antlike workers, the stately mansion on the prairie presiding over the enterprise, the

tall sky—the size of the world itself defeats these puny poor people from Chicago with their mangy hopes and poorly-executed conspiracies. They are small in everything—finally even in the ability to mourn, as we see in the last scenes, which are a series of inarticulate exchanges.

The celebrated visual glory of this film in fact reinforces a grim sentiment: it is inevitable that the poor must wander, suffer and die. It's a message of resignation and despair. Further, it's a message that carries more power because of the elegance with which it is expressed.

Malick takes a desperate condition and makes it an art object. Work itself is made into a theme for a series of studies, as the workers in the fields, eating their dinners and gathering at night are turned into 19th-century paintings. The characters themselves are turned from people into objects of horror and pity. They are *fashionably* dirty and poor and lost.

If this film is a breakthrough film for its experimentation with natural light and with sound recording, it is a very traditional film in other ways. *Days of Heaven* shows us that the workers are picturesque—at a distance.

—Pat Aufderheide

CULTURE SHOCK

REALLY?

Psychologists find that females, 12-15 and 25-35, have similar musical tastes: "emotional," and "with a commercial beat."



Radio programmer Kent Burkhart explains this (in *Billboard*) by saying that women 15-24 are more hip musically, because they're influenced by husbands, boyfriends, and environment. "Guys normally lean more toward esthetic music," he claims.

TV BIGTIME

The top ten TV specials of last year (reported by *Variety*): Super Bowl XII; Ali-Shavers fight; Super Bowl Post-Game Show; Academy Awards; NFL Football Championship; Holocaust Part 4; Ali-Spinks All-Star Boxing; Texaco and Bob Hope's All-Star Christmas; World Series-Game 6; Happy Days (March 7). If TV is, like John Leonard says,

"a national form of worship," here are the idols.

CAPITALIST PIGS?

Neiman-Marcus advertises a \$600 Christmas present: an edible monopoly game, making it possible to devour the competition.



IN A REVOLUTIONARY VEIN

German New Wave filmmaker Werner Herzog claims that Dracula in his new movie *Nosferatu* "is a prophet of change in a bourgeois world that must change." It's a long-toothed prophecy, but one with a bite to it.

WHERE THERE'S SMOKE THERE'S FIVE

BY LARRY REMER

Woman: Arrest that man.

Police officer: Ma'am?

Woman: Arrest him, he's smoking.

Officer: But it's OK to smoke at rock concerts.

Woman: But this isn't rock, it's pop.

Man: No. It's contemporary music.

Officer (bemused): This is something they didn't teach us at the Academy.

Other woman (incredulous): Next thing you know, they'll be telling us you can't smoke on Thursdays.

Man: With one shoe on.

Woman: If that shoe is yellow.

(Hilarious laughter from all).

Narrator: That's the way it will be if Proposition 5 passes. We've

already had enough interference in our personal lives. The regulators are at it again... This moment of sanity was brought to you by Californians for Common Sense.

The so-called sanity of the above message has been blaring out of California radios since mid-July. Its part of a \$5 million media blitz by the tobacco industry aimed at burying Proposition 5—the Clean Indoor Air Initiative—that appears on California's November ballot. What exactly is Prop. 5 and why does it have the tobacco industry running so scared?

Prop. 5 is a measure designed largely to protect the rights of nonsmokers. It requires that restaurants, businesses, and other enclosed public areas provide for both smoking and nonsmoking areas.

Spearheaded by Paul Loveday, a San Francisco attorney, the measure is supported by a broad coalition of health and environmental groups including the American Cancer Society, the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the Lung Association, and the California Group Against Smoking Pollution (GASP).

More than 600,000 Californians signed petitions to place the measure on the ballot. Already, non-smoking ordinances in a dozen cities—including Berkeley and San Diego—curb the public bother tobacco brings to nonsmokers. The prospects for passage of a sensible statewide initiative statewide seemed good over the summer before the tobacco industry blitz began.

Frightened by projections that cigarette sales in California would slump 10 to 15 percent if the initiative passed, the tobacco lobby geared up for a big campaign. Its ads nit-pick the features of the initiative while raising the specter of increased governmental interference in our private lives and businesses—interference that the tobacco industry doesn't mind when it involves price supports for tobacco.

The battle between the industry and a grass-roots pro-health movement is the inevitable outcome of more than a decade of public knowledge that cigarettes cause cancer, and tobacco interests are fighting to prevent a successful California drive from spreading to other states.

Massive spending by the tobacco lobby is having its effect. Polls early last summer gave Prop. 5 a 53-38 edge with 4 percent undecided. But by last week, the measure was running dead even at 48-48.

On the other side, proponents—who expect to be outspent 10-to-1—are relying on informal, grass-roots mechanisms to get their message out: bike-a-thons, eco-walks, and appeals from noted supporters like Nobel laureate Linus Pauling. In California, where health food stores seem to proliferate on every street corner and visions of ectopia are an article of faith among a broad segment of the body politic, the move to ban smoking in public places has come of age. ■